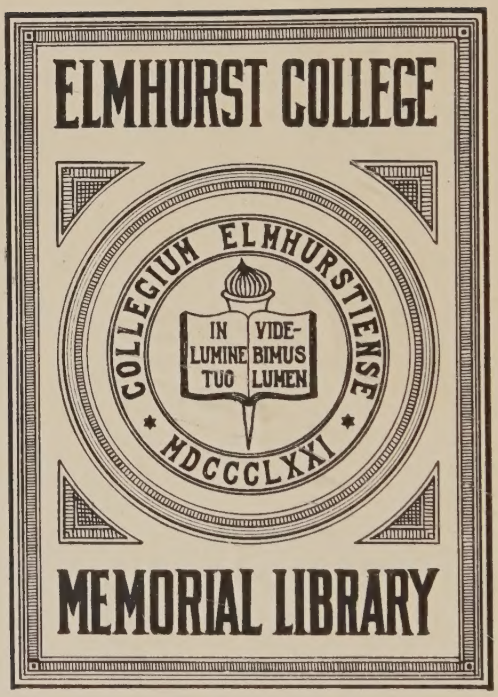
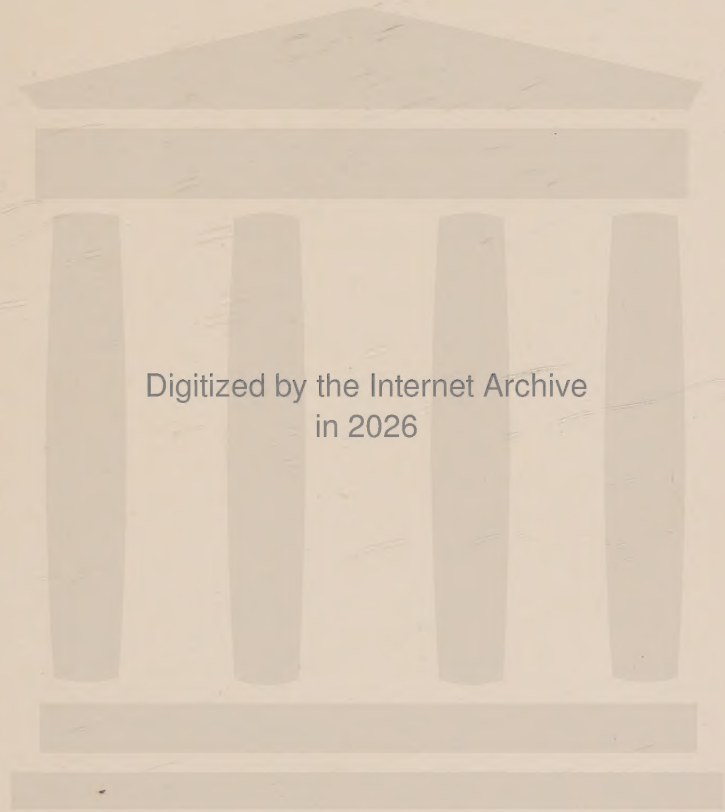
ELMHURST COLLEGE LIBRARY
973.7L736YTLI
THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN$ SANGAMON ED
C001 V002
3 2311 00140 742 1

Abraham Lincoln


ELMHURST COLLEGE
COLLEGIUM ELMHURSTIENSE
IN LUMINE TUO VIDEBIMUS LUMEN
MDCCCLXXI
MEMORIAL LIBRARY

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Volume Two


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/lifeofabrahamlin0002idat_l3x3

MEMORIAL AT ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S BIRTHPLACE NEAR HODGENVILLE, KY.

Dedicated in 1916.

The Original Log Cabin stands within the Temple.

Sangamon Edition

The Life of Abraham Lincoln

Drawn from original sources and containing many Speeches, Letters, and Telegrams hitherto unpublished

Profusely Illustrated

with many reproductions from original Photographs, Paintings, etc.

By

Ida M. Tarbell

Second Volume

Published by the
Lincoln History Society
New York

Mcmxxiv

Copyright, 1895, 1896, 1898, 1899
By The S. S. McClure Co.

Copyright, 1900
By Doubleday & McClure Co.

Copyright, 1900
By McClure, Phillips & Co.

Copyright, 1917
By The Macmillan Company

Copyright, 1924
By The Lincoln History Society

973.7
L736Yt
Li
V.2

CONTENTS

Volume Two

CHAPTER		PAGE
XII.	Lincoln Becomes a Candidate for Congress and is Defeated—On the Stump in 1844—Nominated and Elected to the 30th Congress	1
XIII.	Lincoln in Washington in 1847—He Opposes the Mexican War—Campaigning in New England	19
XIV.	Lincoln at Niagara—Secures a Patent for an Invention—Abandons Politics and Decides to Devote Himself to the Law	40
XV.	Lincoln on the Circuit—His Humor and Persuasiveness—His Manner of Preparing Cases, Examining Witnesses, and Addressing Juries	58
XVI.	Lincoln's Important Law Cases—Defence of a Slave Girl—The McCormick Case—The Armstrong Murder Case—The Rock Island Bridge Case	76
XVII.	Lincoln Re-enters Politics	102
XVIII.	The Lincoln-Douglas Debates	126
XIX.	Lincoln's Nomination in 1860	166
XX.	The Campaign of 1860	196

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Volume Two

Memorial Temple, Hodgenville, Ky.	*Frontispiece*
	FACING PAGE
Earliest Portrait of Lincoln	4
Crawford Well	8
Crawford House	8
Log Cabin in Hodgenville Temple	18
Thomas Lincoln's Home in Illinois	34
Model of Lincoln's Patent	42
Map of Lincoln Law Circuit	61
Lincoln Memorandum	69
Lincoln in 1857	74
Lincoln's Office	78
Photo of Joseph Medill	120
Photo of H. C. Whitney	120
Lincoln in 1857	124
Stephen A. Douglas	128
Lincoln-Douglas Meeting at Galesburg	132
Lincoln in 1858	138
Lincoln Letter about Lincoln-Douglas Debate	142
Lincoln in 1858, Age 49	146
Lincoln in 1859	150
Lincoln, 1860, at time of Cooper Union Speech	158
Lincoln in 1860	172
Chair at Republican Convention	183
Wigwam, Chicago	184
William H. Seward-Salmon P. Chase	190
Edward Bates-Simon Cameron	190
Jesse W. Fell-Horace Greeley	194

THE LIFE
OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LIFE OF LINCOLN

CHAPTER XII

LINCOLN BECOMES A CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS AND IS DEFEATED—ON THE STUMP IN 1844—NOMINATED AND ELECTED TO THE 30TH CONGRESS

For eight successive years Lincoln had been a member of the General Assembly of Illinois. It was quite long enough, in his judgment, and his friends seem to have wanted to give him something better, for in 1841 they offered to support him as a candidate for Governor of the state. This, however, he refused. His ambition was to go to Washington. In 1842 he declined renomination for the Assembly and became a candidate for Congress. He did not wait to be asked, nor did he leave his case in the hands of his friends. He frankly announced his desire and managed his own canvass. There was no reason, in Lincoln's opinion, for concealing political ambition. He recognized, at the same time, the legitimacy of the ambition of his friends, and entertained no suspicion or rancor if they contested places with him.

"Do you suppose that I should ever have got into notice if I had waited to be hunted up and pushed forward by older men?" he wrote his friend Herndon

once, when the latter was complaining that the older men did not help him on. "The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There may sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young man down; and they will succeed, too, if he allows his mind to be diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted injury. Cast about, and see if this feeling has not injured every person you have ever known to fall into it."

Lincoln had something more to do, however, in 1842, than simply to announce himself in the innocent manner of early politics. The convention system introduced into Illinois in 1835 by the Democrats had been zealously opposed by all good Whigs, Lincoln included, until constant defeat taught them that to resist organization by an every-man-for-himself policy was hopeless and wasteful, and that if they would succeed they must meet organization with organization. In 1841 a Whig State convention had been called to nominate candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor; and now, in March, 1843, a Whig meeting was held again at Springfield, at which the party's platform was laid, and a committee, of which Lincoln was a member, was appointed to prepare an "Address to the People of Illinois." In this address the convention system was earnestly defended. Against this rapid adoption of the abominated system many of the Whigs protested, and Lincoln found himself supporting before his constituents the tactics he

had once warmly opposed. In a letter to his friend John Bennett, of Petersburg, written in March, 1843, he said:

"I am sorry to hear that any of the Whigs of your county, or of any county, should longer be against conventions. On last Wednesday evening a meeting of all the Whigs then here from all parts of the state was held, and the question of the propriety of conventions was brought up and fully discussed, and at the end of the discussion a resolution recommending the system of conventions to all the Whigs of the state was unanimously adopted. Other resolutions were also passed, all of which will appear in the next 'Journal.' The meeting also appointed a committee to draft an address to the people of the state, which address will also appear in the next 'Journal.' In it you will find a brief argument in favor of conventions, and, although I wrote it myself, I *will* say to you that it is conclusive upon the point and cannot be reasonably answered.

"If there be any good Whig who is disposed still to stick out against conventions, get him, at least, to read the argument in their favor in the 'Address.'"

The "brief argument" which Lincoln thought so conclusive, "if he did write it himself," justified his good opinion. After its circulation there were few bound to "stick out against conventions."

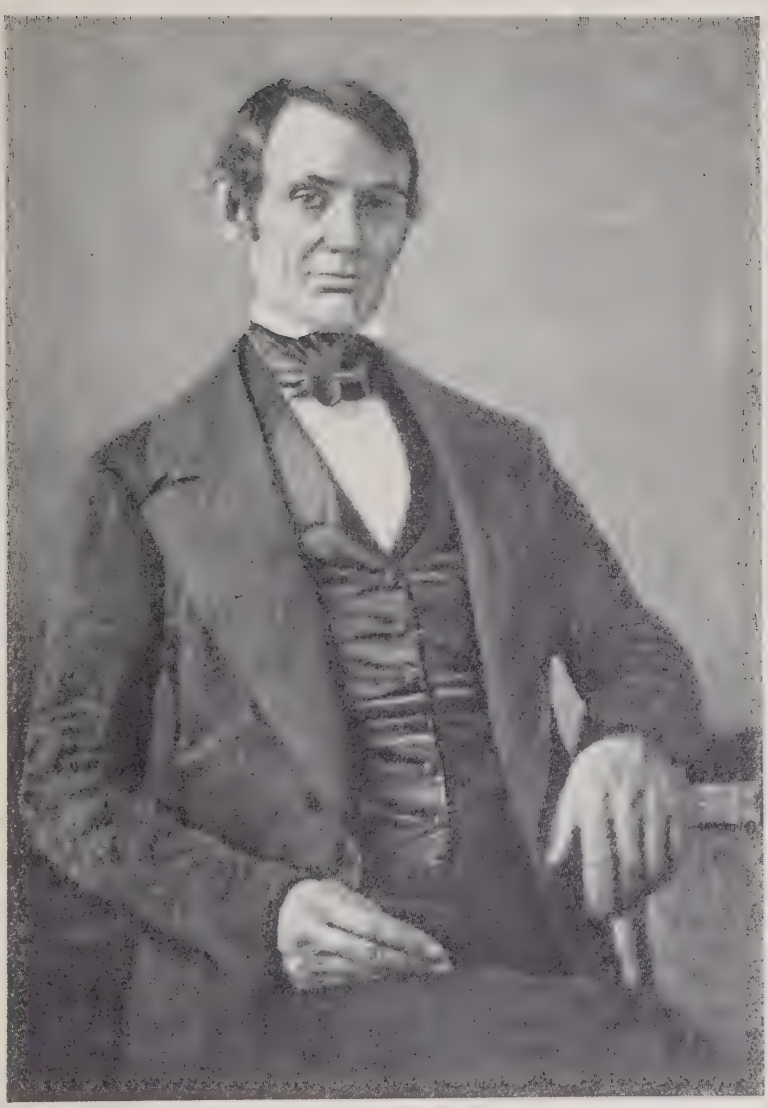
The Whigs of the various counties in the Congressional district met on April 5, as they had been instructed to do, and chose delegates. John J. Hardin of Jacksonville, Edward D. Baker and Abraham Lincoln of Springfield, were the three candidates for whom these delegates were instructed.

To Lincoln's keen disappointment, the delegation from Sangamon County was instructed for Baker.

A variety of social and personal influences, besides Baker's popularity, worked against Lincoln. "It would astonish, if not amuse, the older citizens," wrote Lincoln to a friend, "to learn that I (a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flatboat at ten dollars per month) have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth, and aristocratic family distinction." He was not only accused of being an aristocrat, he was called "a deist." He had fought, or been about to fight, a duel. His wife's relations were Episcopalian and Presbyterian. He and she attended a Presbyterian church. These influences alone could not be said to have defeated him, he wrote, but "they levied a tax of considerable per cent. upon my strength."

The meeting that named Baker as its choice for Congress appointed Lincoln one of the delegates to the convention. "In getting Baker the nomination," Lincoln wrote to Speed, "I shall be fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made a groomsman to a man that has cut him out and is marrying his own dear 'gal.'" From the first, however, he stood bravely by Baker. "I feel myself bound not to hinder him in any way from getting the nomination; I should despise myself were I to attempt it," he wrote certain of his constituents who were anxious that he should attempt to secure the nomination in spite of his instructions. It was soon evident to both Lincoln and Baker that John J. Hardin was probably the strongest candidate in the district, and so it proved when the convention met in May, 1843, at Pekin.

It has frequently been charged that in this Pekin



THE EARLIEST PORTRAIT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. ABOUT 1848. AGE 39.

From the original daguerreotype, owned by Mr. Lincoln's son, the Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, through whose courtesy it was first published in "McClure's Magazine" for November, 1895.

convention, Hardin, Baker, and Lincoln agreed to take in turn the three next nominations to Congress, thus establishing a species of rotation in office. This charge cannot be sustained. What occurred at the Pekin convention is here related by one of the delegates, the Hon. J. M. Ruggles of Havana, Illinois.

"When the convention assembled," writes Mr. Ruggles, "Baker was there with his friend and champion delegate, Abraham Lincoln. The ayes and noes had been taken, and there were fifteen votes apiece, and one in doubt that had not arrived. That was myself. I was known to be a warm friend of Baker, representing people who were partial to Hardin. As soon as I arrived Baker hurried to me, saying: 'How is it? It all depends on you.' On being told that notwithstanding my partiality for him, the people I represented expected me to vote for Hardin, and that I would have to do so, Baker at once replied: 'You are right—there is no other way.' The convention was organized, and I was elected secretary. Baker immediately arose, and made a most thrilling address, thoroughly arousing the sympathies of the convention, and ended by declining his candidacy. Hardin was nominated by acclamation; and then came the episode.

"Immediately after the nomination, Mr. Lincoln walked across the room to my table and asked if I would favor a resolution recommending Baker for the next term. On being answered in the affirmative, he said: 'You prepare the resolution, I will support it, and I think we can pass it.' The resolution created a profound sensation, especially with the friends of Hardin. After an excited and angry discussion, the resolution passed by a majority of one."

Lincoln supported Hardin energetically in the campaign which followed. In a letter to the former written on May 11th, just after the convention, he says:

"Butler informs me that he received a letter from you in which you expressed some doubt as to whether the Whigs of Sangamon will support you cordially. You may at once dismiss all fears on that subject. We have already resolved to make a particular effort to give you the very largest majority possible in our county. From this no Whig of the county dissents. We have many objects for doing it. We make it a matter of honor and pride to do it; we do it because we love the Whig cause; we do it because we like you personally; and, last, we wish to convince you that we do not bear that hatred to Morgan County that you people have seemed so long to imagine. You will see by the 'Journal' of this week that we propose, upon pain of losing a barbecue, to give you twice as great a majority in this county as you shall receive in your own. I got up the proposal."

Lincoln was true to his promise and after Hardin was elected and in Washington he kept him informed of much that went on in the district; thus in an amusing letter written in May, 1844, while the latter was in Congress, he tells him of one disgruntled constituent who must be pacified, giving him, at the same time, a hint as to the temper of the "Locofocos."

"Knowing that you have correspondents enough, I have forborne to trouble you heretofore," he writes; "and I now only do so to get you to set a matter right which has got wrong with one of our best friends. It is old Uncle Thomas Campbell of Spring Creek (Berlin P. O.). He has received several documents from you, and he says they are old newspapers and old documents, having no sort of interest in them. He is, therefore, getting a strong impression that you treat him with disrespect. This, I know, is a mistaken impression, and you must correct it. The way, I leave to yourself. Robert W. Canfield says he would like to have a document or two from you.

"The Locos here are in considerable trouble about Van Buren's letter on Texas, and the Virginia electors. They are growing sick of the tariff question, and consequently are much confounded at Van Buren's cutting them off from the new Texas question. Nearly half the leaders swear they won't stand it. Of those are Ford, T. Campbell, Ewing, Calhoun, and others. They don't exactly say they won't go for Van Buren, but they say he will not be the candidate, and that *they* are for Texas anyhow."

The resolution passed at the Pekin convention in 1843 was remembered and respected by the Whigs when the time came to nominate Hardin's successor. Baker was selected and elected, Lincoln working for him as loyally as he had for Hardin. In this campaign—that of 1844—Lincoln was a presidential elector. He went into the canvass with unusual ardor, for Henry Clay was the candidate and Lincoln shared the popular idolatry of the man. His devotion was not merely a sentiment, however. He had been an intelligent student of Clay's public life, and his sympathy was all with the principles of the "gallant Harry of the West." Throughout the campaign he worked zealously, travelling all over the state, speaking and talking. As a rule, he was accompanied by a Democrat. The two went unannounced, simply stopping at some friendly house. On their arrival the word was sent around, "the candidates are here," and the men of the neighborhood gathered to hear the discussion, which was carried on in the most informal way, the candidates frequently sitting tipped back against the side of the house, or perched on a rail, whittling during the debates. Nor was all of this electioneering done by argument. Many votes were

still cast in Illinois out of personal liking, and the wily candidate did his best to make himself agreeable, particularly to the women of the household. The Hon. William L. D. Ewing, a Democrat who travelled with Lincoln in one campaign, used to tell a story of how he and Lincoln were eager to win the favor of one of their hostesses, whose husband was an important man in his neighborhood. Neither had made much progress until at milking-time Mr. Ewing started after the woman of the house as she went to the yard, took her pail, and insisted on milking the cow himself. He naturally felt that this was a master stroke. But receiving no reply from the hostess, to whom he had been talking loudly as he milked, he looked around, only to see her and Lincoln leaning comfortably over the bars, engaged in an animated discussion. By the time he had completed his self-imposed task, Lincoln had captivated the hostess, and all Mr. Ewing received for his pains was hearty thanks for giving her a chance to have so pleasant a talk with Mr. Lincoln.

Lincoln's speeches at this time were not confined to his own state. He made several in Indiana, being invited there by prominent Whig politicians who had heard him speak in Illinois. The first and most important of his meetings in Indiana was at Bruceville. The Democrats, learning of the proposed Whig gathering, arranged one, for the same evening, with Lieutenant William W. Carr of Vincennes as speaker. As might have been expected from the excited state of politics at the moment, the proximity of the two mass-meetings aroused party loyalty to a fighting

CRAWFORD WELL.

In a field near the Crawford house is a well which is pointed out to sightseers as one which Lincoln helped to dig. Many things about the Crawford place—fences, corn-cribs, house, barn—were built in part by Mr. Lincoln.

THE CRAWFORD HOUSE.

The house of Josiah Crawford, near Gentryville, Indiana. Here Mr. Lincoln worked by the day for several months, and his sister was a "hired girl" for Mrs. Crawford. In 1829 Mr. Lincoln cut down timber and whip-sawed it into planks for a new house which his father proposed to build; but Thomas Lincoln had decided to go to Illinois before the new house was begun, and Abraham sold his planks to Mr. Crawford, who worked them into the southeast room of his house, where relic-seekers have since cut them to pieces to make canes. This picture is made after a photograph taken before the death of Mr. and Mrs. Crawford, both of whom are shown here.

pitch. "Each party was determined to break up the other's speaking," writes Miss O'Flynn, in a description of the Bruceville meeting prepared from interviews with those who took part in it. "The night was made hideous with the rattle of tin pans and bells and the blare of cow-horns. In spite of all the din and uproar of the younger element, a few grown-up male radicals and partisan women sang and cheered loudly for their favorites, who kept on with their flow of political information. Lieutenant Carr stood in his carriage and addressed the crowd around him, while a local politician acted as grand marshal of the night and urged the yelling Democratic legion to surge to the schoolhouse, where Abraham Lincoln was speaking, and run the Whigs from their headquarters. Old men now living, who were big boys then, cannot remember any of the burning eloquence of either speaker. As they now laughingly express it: 'We were far more interested in the noise than the success of the speakers, and we ran backward and forward from one camp to the other.' "

Fortunately, the remaining speeches in Indiana were made under more dignified conditions. One was delivered at Rockport; another "from the door of a harness shop" near Gentryville, Lincoln's old home in Indiana; and a third at the "Old Carter School" in the same neighborhood. At the delivery of the last many of Lincoln's old neighbors were present, and they still tell of the cordial way in which he greeted them and inquired for old friends. After his speech he drove home with Mr. Josiah Crawford, for whom he had once worked as a day laborer. His interest in

every familiar spot—a saw-pit where he had once worked—the old swimming pool, the town grocery, the mill, the blacksmith shop, surprised and flattered everybody. "He went round inspecting everything," declares one of his hosts. So vivid were the memories which this visit to Gentryville aroused, so deep were Lincoln's emotions, that he even attempted to express them in verse. A portion of the lines he wrote have been preserved, the only remnants of his various early attempts at versification.

In this campaign of 1844 Lincoln for the second time in his political life met the slavery question. The chief issue of that campaign was the annexation of Texas. The Whigs, under Clay's leadership, opposed it. To annex Texas without the consent of Mexico would compromise our national reputation for fair dealing, Clay argued; it would bring on war with Mexico, destroy the existing relations between North and South and compel the North to annex Canada, and it would tend to extend rather than restrict slavery.

A large party of strong anti-slavery people in the North felt that Clay did not give enough importance to the anti-slavery argument and they nominated a third candidate, James G. Birney. This "Liberal Party" as it was called, had a fair representation in Illinois and Lincoln must have encountered them frequently, though what arguments he used against them, if any, we do not know, no extracts of his 1844 speeches being preserved.

The next year, 1845, he found the abolition sentiment stronger than ever. Prominent among the lead-

ers of the third party in the state were two brothers, Williamson and Madison Durley of Hennepin, Illinois. They were outspoken advocates of their principles, and even operated a station of the underground railroad. Lincoln knew the Durleys, and, when visiting Hennepin, solicited their support. They set up as an obstacle, their liberty principles. On returning to Springfield, Lincoln wrote Williamson Durley a letter which sets forth with admirable clearness his exact position on the slavery question at that period. It is the most valuable document on the question which we have up to this point in Lincoln's life.

"When I saw you at home," Lincoln began, "it was agreed that I should write to you and your brother Madison. Until I then saw you I was not aware of your being what is generally called an Abolitionist, or, as you call yourself, a Liberty man, though I well knew there were many such in your county.

"I was glad to hear that you intended to attempt to bring about, at the next election in Putnam, a union of the Whigs proper and such of the Liberty men as are Whigs in principle on all questions save only that of slavery. So far as I can perceive, by such union neither party need yield anything on *the* point in difference between them. If the Whig Abolitionists of New York had voted with us last fall, Mr. Clay would now be President, Whig principles in the ascendant, and Texas not annexed; whereas, by the division, all that either had at stake in the contest was lost. And, indeed, it was extremely probable, beforehand, that such would be the result. As I always understood, the Liberty men deprecated the annexation of Texas extremely; and this being so, why they should refuse to cast their votes (so) as to prevent it, even to me seemed wonderful. What was their process of reasoning, I can only judge from what a single one of them told me. It was this: 'We are not to do *evil*

that *good* may come.' This general proposition is doubtless correct; but did it apply? If by your votes you could have prevented the *extension*, etc., of slavery, would it not have been *good*, and not *evil*, so to have used your votes, even though it involved the casting of them for a slave-holder? By the *fruit* the tree is to be known. An *evil* tree cannot bring forth *good* fruit. If the fruit of electing Mr. Clay would have been to prevent the extension of slavery, could the act of electing have been evil?

"But I will not argue further. I perhaps ought to say that individually I never was much interested in the Texas question. I never could see much good to come of annexation, inasmuch as they were already a free republican people on our own model. On the other hand, I never could very clearly see how the annexation would augment the evil of slavery. It always seemed to me that slaves would be taken there in about equal numbers, with or without annexation. And if more *were* taken because of annexation, still there would be just so many the fewer left where they were taken from. It is possibly true, to some extent, that, with annexation, some slaves may be sent to Texas and continued in slavery that otherwise might have been liberated. To whatever extent this may be true, I think annexation an evil. I hold it to be a paramount duty of us in the free states, due to the Union of the states, and perhaps to liberty itself (paradox though it may seem), to let the slavery of the other states alone; while, on the other hand, I hold it to be equally clear that we should never knowingly lend ourselves, directly or indirectly, to prevent that slavery from dying a natural death—to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old. Of course I am not now considering what would be our duty in cases of insurrection among the slaves. To recur to the Texas question, I understand the Liberty men to have viewed annexation as a much greater evil than ever I did; and I would like to convince you, if I could, that they could have prevented it without violation of principle, if they had chosen."

At the time that Lincoln wrote the above letter to the Durley brothers he was working for a nomination to Congress. In 1843 he had helped elect his friend Hardin. He had secured the nomination for Baker in 1844 and had worked faithfully to elect him. Now he felt that his duty to his friends was discharged and that he was free to try for himself. He undoubtedly hoped that neither of his friends would contest the nomination. Baker did not, but late in 1845 it became evident that Hardin might. Lincoln was worried over the prospect. "The paper at Pekin has nominated Hardin for governor," he wrote his friend, B. F. James, in November, "and, commenting on this, the Alton papers indirectly nominated him for Congress. It would give Hardin a great start, and perhaps use me up, if the Whig papers of the district should nominate him for Congress. If your feelings toward me are the same as when you saw me (which I have no reason to doubt), I wish you would let nothing appear in your paper which may operate against me. You understand. Matters stand just as they did when I saw you. Baker is certainly off the track, and I fear Hardin intends to be on it."

Hardin certainly was free to run for Congress if he wanted to. He had voluntarily declined the nomination in 1844, because of the events of the Pekin convention, but he had made no promise to do so in 1846. Many of the Whigs of the district had not expected him to be a candidate, however, arguing that Lincoln, because of his relation to the party, should be given his turn. "We do not entertain a doubt," wrote the editor of the "Sangamon Journal," in February, 1846,

"that if we could reverse the positions of the two men, a very large portion of those who now support Mr. Lincoln most warmly would support General Hardin quite as well."

As time went on and Lincoln found in all probability that Hardin would enter the race, it made him anxious and a little melancholy. In writing to his friend, Dr. Robert Boal, of Lacon, Illinois, on January 7, 1846, he said:

"Since I saw you last fall, I have often thought of writing you, as it was then understood I would; but, on reflection, I have always found that I had nothing new to tell you. All has happened as I then told you I expected it would—Baker's declining, Hardin's taking the track, and so on.

"If Hardin and I stood precisely equal—that is, if *neither* of us had been to Congress, or if we *both* had—it would not only accord with what I have always done, for the sake of peace, to give way to him; and I expect I should do it. That I *can* voluntarily postpone my pretensions, when they are no more than equal to those to which they are postponed, you have yourself seen. But to yield to Hardin under present circumstances seems to me as nothing else than yielding to one who would gladly sacrifice me altogether. This I would rather not submit to. That Hardin is talented, energetic, unusually generous and magnanimous, I have, before this, affirmed to you, and do not now deny. You know that my only argument is that 'turn about is fair play.' This he, practically at least, denies.

"If it would not be taxing you too much, I wish you would write me, telling the aspect of things in your county, or rather your district; and also send the names of some of your Whig neighbors to whom I might, with propriety, write. Unless I can get some one to do this, Hardin, with his old franking list, will have the advantage of me. My reliance for a fair shake (and I want nothing more) in your county

is chiefly on you, because of your position and standing, and because I am acquainted with so few others. Let me hear from you soon."

Lincoln followed the vibrations of feeling in the various counties with extreme nicety, studying every individual whose loyalty he suspected or whose vote was not yet pledged. "Nathan Dresser is here," he wrote to his friend Bennett, on January 15, 1846, "and speaks as though the contest between Hardin and me is to be doubtful in Menard County. I know he is candid, and this alarms me some. I asked him to tell me the names of the men that were going strong for Hardin; he said Morris was about as strong as any. Now tell me, is Morris going it openly? You remember you wrote me that he would be neutral. Nathan also said that some man (whom he could not remember) had said lately that Menard County was again to decide the contest, and that made the contest very doubtful. Do you know who that was?

"Don't fail to write me instantly on receiving, telling me all—particularly the names of those who are going strong against me."

In January, General Hardin suggested that since he and Lincoln were the only persons mentioned as candidates, there be no convention, but the selection be left to the Whig voters of the district. Lincoln refused.

"It seems to me," he wrote Hardin, "that on reflection you will see the fact of your having been in Congress has, in various ways, so spread your name in the district as to give you a decided advantage in such a stipulation. I appreciate your desire to keep down excitement; and I promise you to

'keep cool' under all circumstances. . . . I have always been in the habit of acceding to almost any proposal that a friend would make, and I am truly sorry that I cannot in this. I perhaps ought to mention that some friends at different places are endeavoring to secure the honor of the sitting of the convention at their towns respectively, and I fear that they would not feel much complimented if we shall make a bargain that it should sit nowhere."

After General Hardin received this refusal he withdrew from the contest in a manly and generous letter which was warmly approved by the Whigs of the district. Both men were so much loved that a break between them would have been a disastrous thing for the party. "We are truly glad that a contest which in its nature was calculated to weaken the ties of friendship has terminated amicably," said the "Sangamon Journal."

The charge that Hardin, Baker, and Lincoln tried to ruin one another in this contest for Congress has often been denied by their associates, and never more emphatically than by Judge Gillespie, an influential politician of the state. "Hardin," Judge Gillespie says, "was one of the most unflinching and unfaltering Whigs that ever drew the breath of life. He was a mirror of chivalry, and so was Baker. Lincoln had boundless respect for, and confidence in, them both. He knew they would sacrifice themselves rather than do an act that could savor in the slightest degree of meanness or dishonor. These men, Lincoln, Hardin and Baker, were bosom friends, to my certain knowledge. . . . Lincoln felt that they could be actuated by nothing but the most honorable sentiments towards

him. For although they were rivals, they were all three men of the most punctilious honor, and devoted friends. I knew them intimately, and can say confidently that there never was a particle of envy on the part of one towards the other. The rivalry between them was of the most honorable and friendly character, and when Hardin and Baker were killed (Hardin in Mexico, and Baker at Ball's Bluff) Lincoln felt that in the death of each he had lost a dear and true friend."

After Hardin's withdrawal, Lincoln went about in his characteristic way trying to soothe his and Hardin's friends. "Previous to General Hardin's withdrawal," he wrote one of his correspondents, "some of his friends and some of mine had become a little warm; and I felt . . . that for them now to meet face to face and converse together was the best way to efface any remnant of unpleasant feeling, if any such existed. I did not suppose that General Hardin's friends were in any greater need of having their feelings corrected than mine were."

In May, Lincoln was nominated. His Democratic opponent was Peter Cartwright, the famous Methodist exhorter, the most famous itinerant preacher of the pioneer era. Cartwright had moved from Kentucky to Illinois when still a young man to get into a free state, and had settled in the Sangamon Valley, near Springfield. For the next forty years he travelled over the state, most of the time on horseback, preaching the Gospel in his unique and rugged fashion. His district was at first so large (extending from Kaskaskia to Galena) that he was unable to

traverse the whole of it in the same year. He was elected to the legislature in 1828 and again in 1832; Lincoln, in the latter year, being an opposing candidate. In 1840 when he was the Democratic nominee for Congress against Lincoln he was badly beaten. Cartwright now made an energetic canvass, his chief weapon against Lincoln being the old charges of atheism and aristocracy; but they failed of effect, and in August, Lincoln was elected.

The contest over, sudden and characteristic disillusion seized him. "Being elected to Congress, though I am grateful to our friends for having done it, has not pleased me as much as I expected," he wrote Speed.

LOG CABIN IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS BORN, NOW PRESERVED IN THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL TEMPLE AT HODGENVILLE, KY.

CHAPTER XIII

LINCOLN IN WASHINGTON IN 1847—HE OPPOSES THE MEXICAN WAR—CAMPAIGNING IN NEW ENGLAND

In November, 1847, Lincoln started for Washington. The city in 1848 was little more than the outline of the present Washington. The capitol was without its wings, dome, or western terrace. The White House, the City Hall, the Treasury, the Patent Office, and the Post-Office were the only public buildings standing then which have not been rebuilt or materially changed. The streets were unpaved, and their dust in summer and mud in winter are celebrated in every record of the period. The parks and circles were still unplanted. Near the White House were a few fine old homes, and Capitol Hill was partly built over. Although there were deplorable wastes between these two points, the majority of the people lived in the southeastern part of the city, on or near Pennsylvania Avenue. The winter that Lincoln was in Washington, Daniel Webster lived on Louisiana Avenue, near Sixth Street; Speaker Winthrop and Thomas H. Benton on C Street, near Third; John Quincy Adams and James Buchanan, the latter then Secretary of State, on F Street, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth. Many of the senators and congressmen were in hotels, the leading ones of which were Willard's, Coleman's Gadsby's, Brown's, Young's, Fuller's, and the United States. Stephen A. Doug-

las, who was in Washington for his first term as senator, lived at Willard's. So inadequate were the hotel accommodations during the sessions that visitors to the town were frequently obliged to accept most uncomfortable makeshifts for beds. Seward, visiting the city in 1847, tells of sleeping on "a cot between two beds occupied by strangers."

The larger number of members lived in "messes," a species of boarding-club, over which the owner of the house occupied usually presided. The "National Intelligencer" of the day is sprinkled with announcements of persons "prepared to accommodate a mess of members." Lincoln went to live in one of the best known of these clubs, Mrs. Spriggs's, in "Duff Green's Row," on Capitol Hill. This famous row has now entirely disappeared, the ground on which it stood being occupied by the Congressional Library.

At Mrs. Spriggs's, Lincoln had as mess-mates several congressmen: A. R. McIlvaine, James Pollock, John Strohm, and John Blanchard, all of Pennsylvania, Patrick Tompkins of Mississippi, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, and Elisha Embree of Indiana. Among his neighbors in messes on Capitol Hill were Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. One of the members of the mess at Mrs. Spriggs's in the winter of 1847-1848 was Dr. S. C. Busey of Washington, D. C.

"I soon learned to know and admire Lincoln," says Dr. Busey in his "Personal Reminiscences and Recollections," "for his simple and unostentatious manners, kind-heartedness, and amusing jokes, anecdotes, and witticisms. When

about to tell an anecdote during a meal he would lay down his knife and fork, place his elbows upon the table, rest his face between his hands, and begin with the words, 'That reminds me,' and proceed. Everybody prepared for the explosion sure to follow. I recall with vivid pleasure the scene of merriment at the dinner after his first speech in the House of Representatives, occasioned by the descriptions, by himself and others of the congressional mess, of the uproar in the House during its delivery.

"Congressman Lincoln was always neatly but very plainly dressed, very simple and approachable in manner, and unpretentious. He attended to his business, going promptly to the House and remaining till the session adjourned, and appeared to be familiar with the progress of legislation."

The town offered then little in the way of amusement. The Adelphi Theater was opened that winter for the first time, and presented a variety of mediocre plays. At the Olympia were "lively and beautiful exhibitions of model artists." Herz and Sivori, the pianists, then touring in the United States, played several times in the season; and there was a Chinese museum. Add the exhibitions of Brown's paintings of the heroes of Palo Alto, Resaca, Monterey, and Buena Vista, and of Powers's "Greek Slave," the performances of Dr. Valentine, "Delineator of Eccentricities," a few lectures, and numerous church socials, and you have about all there was in the way of public entertainments in Washington in 1848. But of dinners, receptions, and official gala affairs there were many. Lincoln's name appears frequently in the "National Intelligencer" on committees to offer dinners to this or that great man. In the spring of 1849 he was one of the managers of the inaugural ball given

to Taylor. His friend Washburne recalls an amusing incident of Lincoln at this ball. "A small number of mutual friends," says Mr. Washburne, "including Mr. Lincoln, made up a party to attend the inauguration ball together. It was by far the most brilliant inauguration ball ever given. Of course Mr. Lincoln had never seen anything of the kind before. One of the most modest and unpretending persons present, he could not have dreamed that like honors were to come to him, almost within a little more than a decade. He was greatly interested in all that was to be seen, and we did not take our departure until three or four o'clock in the morning. When we went to the cloak and hat room, Mr. Lincoln had no trouble in finding his short cloak, which little more than covered his shoulders, but, after a long search was unable to find his hat. After an hour he gave up all idea of finding it. Taking his cloak on his arm, he walked out into Judiciary Square, deliberately adjusting it on his shoulders, and started off bare-headed for his lodgings. It would be hard to forget the sight of that tall and slim man, with his short cloak thrown over his shoulders, starting for his long walk home on Capitol Hill, at four o'clock in the morning, without any hat on."

Another reminiscence of his homely and independent ways comes from the librarian of the Supreme Court at that period, through Lincoln's friend, Washburne. Mr. Lincoln, the story goes, came to the library one day for the purpose of procuring some law books which he wanted to take to his room for examination. Getting together all the books he

wanted, he placed them in a pile on a table. Taking a large bandana handkerchief from his pocket, he tied them up and, putting the stick he carried through a knot made in the handkerchief, he shouldered the package and marched off from the library to his room. In a few days he returned the books in the same way.

Lincoln's simple, sincere friendliness and his quaint humor soon won him a sure, if quiet, social position in Washington. He was frequently invited to Mr. Webster's Saturday breakfasts, where his stories were highly relished for their originality and drollery. Dr. Busey recalls his popularity at one of the leading places of amusement on Capitol Hill.

"Congressman Lincoln was very fond of bowling," he says, "and would frequently join others of the mess, or meet other members in a match game, at the alley of James Casparis, which was near the boarding-house. He was a very awkward bowler, but played the game with great zest and spirit, solely for exercise and amusement, and greatly to the enjoyment and entertainment of the other players and bystanders by his criticisms and funny illustrations. He accepted success and defeat with like good nature and humor, and left the alley at the conclusion of the game without a sorrow or disappointment. When it was known that he was in the alley, there would assemble numbers of people to witness the fun which was anticipated by those who knew of his fund of anecdotes and jokes. When in the alley, surrounded by a crowd of eager listeners, he indulged with great freedom in the sport of narrative, some of which were very broad. His witticisms seemed for the most part to be impromptu, but he always told the anecdotes and jokes as if he wished to convey the impression that he had heard them from some one; but they appeared very many times as if they had been made for the immediate occasion."

Another place where he became at home and was much appreciated was in the post-office at the Capitol.

"During the Christmas holidays," says Ben. Perley Poore, "Mr. Lincoln found his way into the small room used as the post-office of the House, where a few jovial raconteurs used to meet almost every morning, after the mail had been distributed into the members' boxes, to exchange such new stories as any of them might have acquired since they had last met. After modestly standing at the door for several days, Mr. Lincoln was reminded of a story, and by New Year's he was recognized as the champion story-teller of the Capitol. His favorite seat was at the left of the open fireplace, tilted back in his chair, with his long legs reaching over to the chimney jamb. He never told a story twice, but appeared to have an endless *répertoire* of them always ready, like the successive charges in a magazine gun, and always pertinently adapted to some passing event. It was refreshing to us correspondents, compelled as we were to listen to so much that was prosy and tedious, to hear this bright specimen of western genius tell his inimitable stories, especially his reminiscences of the Black Hawk war."

But Lincoln had gone to Washington for work, and he at once interested himself in the Whig organization formed to elect the officers of the House. There was only a small Whig majority, and it took skill and energy to keep the offices in the party. Lincoln's share in achieving this result was generally recognized. As late as 1860, twelve years after the struggle, Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, who was elected speaker, said in a speech in Boston discussing Lincoln's nomination to the Presidency: "You will be sure that I remember him with interest, if I may be allowed to remind you that he helped to make me the

speaker of the Thirtieth Congress, when the vote was a very close and strongly contested vote."

A week after Congress organized, Lincoln wrote to Springfield: "As you are all so anxious for me to distinguish myself, I have concluded to do so before long"; and he did it—but not exactly as his Springfield friends wished. The United States was then at war with Mexico, a war that the Whigs abhorred. Lincoln had used his influence against it; but, hostilities declared, he had publicly affirmed that every loyal man must stand by the army. Many of his friends, Hardin, Baker, and Shields, among others, were at that moment in Mexico. Lincoln had gone to Washington intending to say nothing in opposition to the war. But the administration wished to secure from the Whigs not only votes of supplies and men, but a resolution declaring that the war was just and right. Lincoln, with others of his party in Congress, refused his sanction and voted for a resolution offered by Mr. Ashburn, which declared that the war had been "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally" begun. On December 22d he made his début in the House by the famous "Spot Resolutions," a series of searching questions so clearly put, so strong historically and logically, that they drove the administration from the "spot" where the war began, and showed that it had been the aggressor in the conquest. The resolution ran:—

"*Whereas*, The President of the United States, in his message of May 11, 1846, has declared that 'the Mexican Government not only refused to receive him (the envoy of the United States), or to listen to his propositions, but,

after a long-continued series of menaces, has at last invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil.'

"And again, in his message of December 8, 1846, that 'we had ample cause of war against Mexico long before the breaking out of hostilities; but even then we forbore to take redress into our own hands until Mexico herself became the aggressor, by invading our soil in hostile array and shedding the blood of our citizens.'

"And yet again, in his message of December 7, 1847, that 'The Mexican Government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he (our minister of peace) was authorized to propose, and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts, involved the two countries in war, by invading the territory of the State of Texas, striking the first blow and shedding the blood of our citizens on our own soil.'

"*And whereas*, This House is desirous to obtain a full knowledge of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot on which the blood of our citizens was so shed was or was not at that time our own soil: therefore,

"*Resolved*, by the House of Representatives, that the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this House—

"First. Whether the spot on which the blood of our citizens was shed, as in his message declared, was or was not within the territory of Spain, at least after the treaty of 1819 until the Mexican revolution.

"Second. Whether that spot is or is not within the territory which was wrested from Spain by the revolutionary Government of Mexico.

"Third. Whether that spot is or is not within a settlement of people, which settlement has existed ever since long before the Texas revolution and until its inhabitants fled before the approach of the United States army.

"Fourth. Whether that settlement is or is not isolated from any and all other settlements by the Gulf and the Rio

Grande on the south and west, and by wide uninhabited regions on the north and east.

"Fifth. Whether the people of that settlement, or a majority of them, or any of them, have ever submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas or of the United States, by consent or by compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying tax, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in any other way.

"Sixth. Whether the people of that settlement did or did not flee from the approach of the United States army, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops, *before* the blood was shed, as in the message stated; and whether the first blood, so shed, was or was not shed within the inclosure of one of the people who had thus fled from it.

"Seventh. Whether our citizens, whose blood was shed, as in his message declared, were or were not, at that time, armed officers and soldiers, sent into that settlement by the military order of the President, through the Secretary of War.

"Eighth. Whether the military force of the United States was or was not so sent into that settlement after General Taylor had more than once intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defence or protection of Texas."

In January Lincoln followed up these resolutions with a speech in support of his position. His action was much criticised in Illinois, where the sound of the drum and the intoxication of victory had completely turned attention from the moral side of the question, and Lincoln found himself obliged to defend his position with even Mr. Herndon, his law partner, who, with many others, objected to Lincoln's voting for the Ashburn resolution.

"That vote," wrote Lincoln in answer to Mr. Herndon's letter, "affirms that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President; and I will stake my life that if you had been in my place you would have voted just as I did. Would you have voted what you felt and knew to be a lie? I know you would not. Would you have gone out of the House—skulked the vote? I expect not. If you had skulked one vote, you would have had to skulk many more before the end of the session. Richardson's resolutions, introduced before I made any move or gave any vote upon the subject, make the direct question of the justice of the war; so that no man can be silent if he would. You are compelled to speak; and your only alternative is to tell the truth or a lie. I cannot doubt which you would do.

"This vote has nothing to do in determining my votes on the questions of supplies. I have always intended, and still intend, to vote supplies; perhaps not in the precise form recommended by the President, but in a better form for all purposes, except Locofoco party purposes." . . .

This determination to keep the wrong of the Mexican War before the people even while voting supplies for it Lincoln held to steadily. In May a pamphlet was sent him in which the author claimed that "in view of all the facts" the government of the United States had committed no aggression in Mexico.

"Not in view of all the facts," Lincoln wrote him. "There are facts which you have kept out of view. It is a fact that the United States army in marching to the Rio Grande marched into a peaceful Mexican settlement and frightened the inhabitants away from their homes and their growing crops. It is a fact that Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras, was built by that army within a Mexican cotton-field, on which at the time the army reached it a young cotton crop was growing, and which crop was wholly destroyed and the

field itself greatly and permanently injured by ditches, embankments, and the like. It is a fact that when the Mexicans captured Captain Thornton and his command, they found and captured them within another Mexican field.

"Now I wish to bring these facts to your notice and to ascertain what is the result of your reflections upon them. If you deny that they are facts, I think I can furnish proofs which shall convince you that you are mistaken. If you admit that they are facts, then I shall be obliged for a reference to any law of language, law of States, law of nations, law of morals, law of religions, any law, human or divine, in which an authority can be found for saying those facts constitute 'No aggression.'

"Possibly you consider those acts too small for notice. Would you venture to so consider them had they been committed by any nation on earth against the humblest of our people? I know you would not. Then I ask, Is the precept 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them' obsolete? of no force? of no application?"

The routine work assigned Lincoln in the Thirtieth Congress was on the committee on the post-office and post roads. Several reports were made by him from this committee. These reports, with a speech on internal improvements, cover his published work in the House up to July.

As the Whigs were to hold their national convention for nominating a candidate for the presidency in June, Lincoln gave considerable time during the spring to electioneering. In his judgment the Whigs could elect nobody but General Taylor and he urged his friends in Illinois to give up Henry Clay, to whom many of them still clung. "Mr. Clay's chance for an election," he wrote, "is just no chance at all."

Lincoln went to the convention, which was held in

Philadelphia, and as he prophesied, "Old Rough and Ready" was nominated. He went back to Washington full of enthusiasm. "In my opinion we shall have a most overwhelming, glorious triumph," he wrote a friend. "One unmistakable sign is that all the odds and ends are with us—Barnburners, Native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seekers, Locofocos, and the Lord knows what. This is important, if in nothing else, in showing which way the wind blows."

In connection with Alexander H. Stephens, of whom he had become a warm friend, Toombs, and Preston, Lincoln formed the first Congressional Taylor Club, known as the "Young Indians." Campaigning had already begun on the floor of Congress, and the members were daily making speeches for the various candidates. On July 27th Lincoln made a speech for Taylor. It was a boisterous election speech, full of merciless caricaturing, and delivered with inimitable drollery. It kept the House in an uproar, and was reported the country over by the Whig press. The "Baltimore American," in giving a synopsis of it, called it the "crack speech of the day," and said of Lincoln:

"He is a very able, acute, uncouth, honest, upright man, and a tremendous wag, withal. . . . Mr. Lincoln's manner was so good-natured, and his style so peculiar, that he kept the House in a continuous roar of merriment for the last half hour of his speech. He would commence a point in his speech far up one of the aisles, and keep on talking, gesticulating, and walking until he would find himself, at the end of a paragraph, down in the centre of the area in front

of the clerk's desk. He would then go back and take another *head*, and *work down* again. And so on, through his capital speech."

This speech, as well as the respect Lincoln's work in the House had inspired among the leaders of the party, brought him an invitation to deliver several campaign speeches in New England at the close of Congress, and he went there early in September. There was in New England, at that date, much strong anti-slavery feeling. The Whigs claimed to be "Free Soldiers" as well as the party which appropriated that name, and Lincoln began his campaign by defining carefully his position on the slavery question. This was at Worcester, Massachusetts, on September 12th. The Whig State convention had met to nominate a candidate for governor, and the most eminent Whigs of Massachusetts were present. Curiously enough the meeting was presided over by ex-Governor Levi Lincoln, a descendant, like Abraham Lincoln, from the original Samuel of Hingham. There were many brilliant speeches made; but if we are to trust the reports of the day, Lincoln's was the one which by its logic, its clearness, and its humor did most for the Whig cause. "Gentlemen inform me," says one Boston reporter, who came too late for the exercises, "that it was one of the best speeches ever heard in Worcester, and that several Whigs who had gone off on the 'free soil' fizzle have come back again to the Whig ranks."

A report of the speech was printed in the Boston "Advertiser." According to this report, Lincoln spent the first part of his hour in defending General

Taylor against the charge of having no principles and in proving him a good Whig.

"Mr. Lincoln then passed," says the "Advertiser," "to the subject of slavery in the states, saying that the people of Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachusetts on this subject, except, perhaps, that they did not keep so constantly thinking about it. All agreed that slavery was an evil, but that we were not responsible for it, and cannot affect it in states of this Union where we do not live. But the question of the *extension* of slavery to new territories of this country is a part of our responsibility and care, and is under our control. In opposition to this Mr. Lincoln believed that the self-named 'Free Soil' Party was far behind the Whigs. Both parties opposed the extension. As he understood it, the new party had no principle except this opposition. If their platform held any other, it was in such a general way that it was like the pair of pantaloons the Yankee peddler offered for sale, 'large enough for any man, small enough for any boy.' They therefore had taken a position calculated to break down their single important declared object. They were working for the election of either General Cass or General Taylor. The speaker then went on to show, clearly and eloquently, the danger of extension of slavery likely to result from the election of General Cass. To unite with those who annexed the new territory, to prevent the extension of slavery in that territory, seemed to him to be in the highest degree absurd and ridiculous. Suppose these gentlemen succeed in electing Mr. Van Buren, they had no specific means to *prevent* the extension of slavery to New Mexico and California; and General Taylor, he confidently believed, would not encourage it and would not prohibit its restriction. But if General Cass was elected, he felt certain that the plans of farther extension of territory would be encouraged, and those of the extension of slavery would meet no check. The 'Free Soil' men, in claiming that name, indirectly attempt a deception, by im-

plying that Whigs were *not* Free Soil men. In declaring that they would 'do their duty and leave the consequences to God,' they merely gave an excuse for taking a course they were not able to maintain by a fair and full argument. To make this declaration did not show what their duty was. If it did, we should have no use for judgment; we might as well be made without intellect; and when divine or human law does not clearly point out what *is* our duty, we have no means of finding out what it is but using our most intelligent judgment of the consequences. If there were divine law or human law for voting for Martin Van Buren, or if a fair examination of the consequences and first reasoning would show that voting for him would bring about the ends they pretended to wish, then he would give up the argument. But since there was no fixed law on the subject, and since the whole probable result of their action would be an assistance in electing General Cass, he must say that they were behind the Whigs in their advocacy of the freedom of the soil.

"Mr. Lincoln proceeded to rally the Buffalo convention for forbearing to say anything—after all the previous declarations of those members who were formerly Whigs—on the subject of the Mexican War because the Van Burens had been known to have supported it. He declared that of all the parties asking the confidence of the country, this new one had *less* of principle than any other.

"He wondered whether it was still the opinion of these Free Soil gentlemen, as declared in the 'whereas' at Buffalo, that the Whig and Democratic parties were both entirely dissolved and absorbed into their own body. Had the *Vermont* election given them any light? They had calculated on making as great an impression in that state as in any part of the Union, and there their attempts had been wholly ineffectual. Their failure there was a greater success than they would find in any other part of the Union.

"At the close of this truly masterly and convincing speech" the "Advertiser" goes on, "the audience gave three

enthusiastic cheers for Illinois, and three more for the eloquent Whig member from that state."

After the speech at Worcester, Lincoln spoke at Lowell, Dedham, Roxbury, Chelsea and Cambridge and on September 22d, in Tremont Temple, Boston, following a splendid oration by Governor Seward. Lincoln's speech on this occasion was not reported, though the Boston papers united in calling it "powerful and convincing." His success at Worcester and Boston was such that invitations came from all over New England asking him to speak.

But Lincoln won something in New England of vastly deeper importance than a reputation for making popular campaign speeches. Here for the first time he caught a glimpse of the utter impossibility of ever reconciling the northern conviction that slavery was evil and unendurable, and the southern claim that it was divine and necessary; and he began here to realize that something must be done.

The first impression of slavery which Abraham Lincoln received was in his childhood in Kentucky. His father and mother belonged to a small company of western abolitionists, who at the beginning of the century boldly denounced the institution as an iniquity. So great an evil did Thomas and Nancy Lincoln hold slavery that to escape it they were willing to leave their Kentucky home and move to a free state. Thus their boy's first notion of the institution was that it was something to flee from, a thing so dreadful that it was one's duty to go to pain and hardship to escape it.

In his new home in Indiana he heard the debate on

THOMAS LINCOLN'S HOME IN ILLINOIS.

Built by Thomas Lincoln in 1831, on Goose Neck Prairie, Coles County, Illinois. He died here in 1851. The cabin was occupied until 1891, when it was bought by the Lincoln Log Cabin Association to be shown at the World's Fair in 1893.

slavery go on. The state he had moved into was in a territory made free forever by the ordinance of 1787, but there were still slaves and believers in slavery within its boundaries and it took many years to eradicate them. Close to his Indiana home lay Illinois and here the same struggle went on through all his boyhood. The lad was too thoughtful not to reflect on what he heard and read of the differences of opinions on slavery. By the time the Statutes of Indiana fell into his hands—some time before he was eighteen years old—he had gathered a large amount of practical information about the question which he was able then to weigh in the light of the great principles of the Constitution, the ordinance of 1787, and the laws of Indiana, which he had begun to study with passionate earnestness.

When he left Indiana for Illinois he continued to be thrown up against slavery. In his trip in 1831 to New Orleans he saw its most terrible features. As a young legislator he saw the citizens of his town and his fellows in the legislature ready to condemn as "dangerous agitators" those who dared call slavery an evil, saw them secretly sympathize with outlawry like the Alton riot and the murder of Elijah Lovejoy. So keenly did he feel the danger of passing resolutions against abolitionists which tacitly implied that slavery was as the South was beginning to claim, a divine institution that in 1837, he was one of the only two members of the Illinois Assembly who were willing to publicly declare "that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy."

From time to time as he travelled on the Mississippi

and Ohio he saw the workings of slavery. In 1841, coming home from a visit to Louisville, Ky., he saw in the boat a gang of chained negroes; the sight so impressed him that he described it to a friend:

"A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one, at a convenient distance from the others, so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trout-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery, where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One whose offense for which he had been sold was an overfondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually, and the others danced, sang, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that 'God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb,' or in other words, that he renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while he permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable."

Runaway slaves, underground railway stations, masters and men tracking negroes, the occasional capture of a man or woman to be taken back to the South, trials of fugitives—all the features common in those years particularly in the states bordering on bond territory Lincoln saw. In 1847 he was even engaged

to defend a slave-owner's claim, a case he lost, the negro being allowed to go free.

It was not until 1844-45, however, that the matter became an important element in his political life. Heretofore it had been for him a moral question, now, however, the annexation of Texas made it a political one. It became necessary that every politician and voter decide whether the new territory should be bond or free. The abolitionists, or Liberty party, grew rapidly in Illinois. Lincoln found himself obliged to meet not only Democratic arguments, but abolition theories and convictions. When in 1847 he went to Congress it was already evident that the Mexican War would be settled by the acquisition of large new territory. What was to be done with it? The North had tried to forestall the South by bringing in a provision that whatever territory was acquired should be free forever. This Wilmot Proviso, as it was called from the name of the originator, went through as many forms as Proteus, though its intent was always the same. From first to last Lincoln voted for it. "I may venture to say that I voted for it at least forty times during the short time I was there," he said in after years. Although he voted so persistently he did little or no debating on the question in the House and in the hot debates from which he could not escape, he acted as a peace-maker.

At Mrs. Spriggs's mess, where he boarded in Washington, the Wilmot Proviso was the topic of frequent conversation and the occasion of many angry controversies. Dr. Busey, who was a fellow boarder,

says of Lincoln's part in these discussions, that though he may have been as radical as any in the household, he was so discreet in giving expression to his convictions on the slavery question as to avoid giving offence to anybody, and was so conciliatory as to create the impression, even among the pro-slavery advocates, that he did not wish to introduce or discuss subjects that would provoke a controversy.

"When such conversation would threaten angry or even unpleasant contention he would interrupt it by interposing some anecdote, thus diverting it into a hearty and general laugh, and so completely disarrange the tenor of the discussion that the parties engaged would either separate in good humor or continue conversation free from discord. This amicable disposition made him very popular with the household."

When Lincoln went to New England in 1848 he experienced for the first time the full meaning of the "free soil" sentiment. Massachusetts was quivering at that moment under the impassioned protests of the great abolitionists. Sumner was just deciding to abandon literature to devote his life to the cause of freedom and was speaking wherever he had the chance and often in scenes which were riots. "Ah me, such an assembly," wrote Longfellow in his Journal after one of these speeches of Sumner. "It was like one of Beethoven's symphonies played in a saw-mill." Whittier was laboring at Amesbury by letters of counsel and encouragement to friends, by his pure, high-souled poems of protest and promise and by his editorials to the "National Era," which he and his friends had just started in Washington. Lowell was

publishing the last of the Biglow Papers and preparing the whole for the book form. He was writing, too, some of his noblest prose. Emerson, Palfrey, Hoar, Adams, Phillips, Garrison, were all at work. Giddings had been there from Ohio.

Only a few days before Lincoln arrived a great convention of Free Soilers and bolting Whigs had been held in Tremont Temple and its earnestness and passion had produced a deep impression. Sensitive as Lincoln was to every shade of popular feeling and conviction the sentiment in New England stirred him as he had never been stirred before, on the question of slavery. Listening to Seward's speech in Tremont Temple, he seems to have had a sudden insight into the truth, a quick illumination; and that night, as the two men sat talking, he said gravely to the great anti-slavery advocate:

"Governor Seward, I have been thinking about what you said in your speech. I reckon you are right. We have got to deal with this slavery question, and got to give much more attention to it hereafter than we have been doing."

CHAPTER XIV

LINCOLN AT NIAGARA—SECURES A PATENT FOR AN INVENTION—ABANDONS POLITICS AND DECIDES TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO THE LAW

It was late in September when Lincoln started westward from his campaigning in New England. He stopped in Albany, N. Y., and in company with Thurlow Weed called on Fillmore, then candidate for Vice-President. From Albany he went to Niagara. Mr. Herndon once asked him what made the deepest impression on him when he stood before the falls.

"The thing that struck me most forcibly when I saw the falls," he responded, "was, where in the world did all that water come from?" The memory of Niagara remained with him and aroused many speculations. Among various notes for lectures which Nicolay and Hay found among Mr. Lincoln's papers after his death and published in his "Complete Works," is a fragment on Niagara which shows how deeply his mind was stirred by the majesty of that mighty wonder.

"Niagara Falls! By what mysterious power is it that millions and millions are drawn from all parts of the world to gaze upon Niagara Falls? There is no mystery about the thing itself. Every effect is just as any intelligent man, knowing the causes, would anticipate without seeing it. If the water moving onward in a great river reaches a point

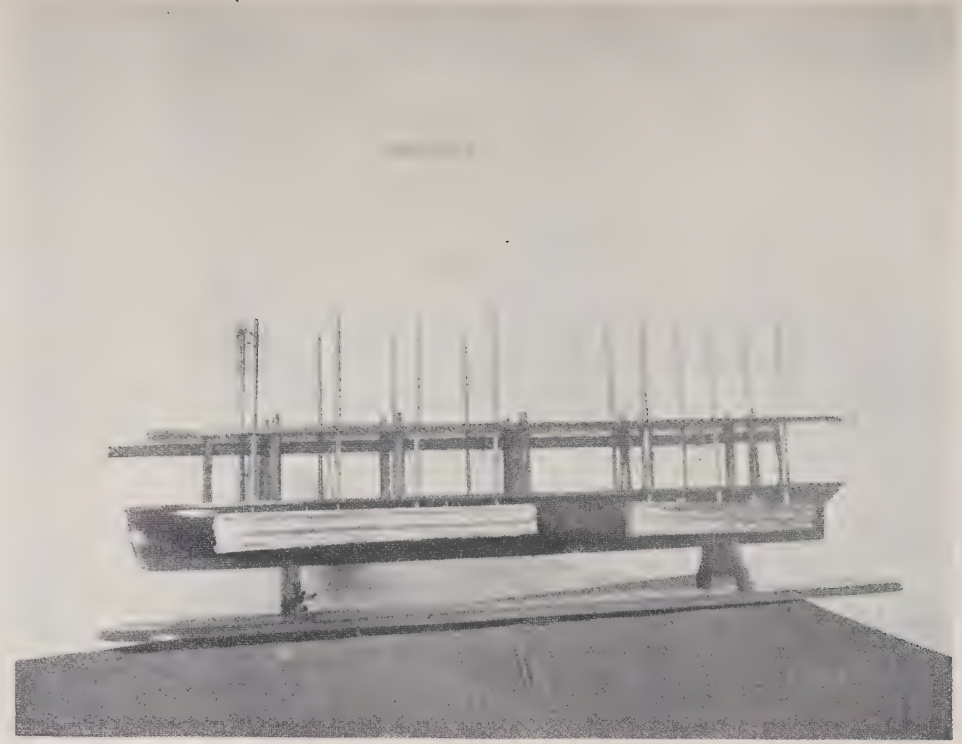
where there is a perpendicular jog of a hundred feet in descent in the bottom of the river, it is plain the water will have a violent and continuous plunge at that point. It is also plain, the water, thus plunging, will foam and roar, and send up a mist continuously, in which last, during sunshine, there will be perpetual rainbows. The mere physical of Niagara Falls is only this. Yet this is really a very small part of that world's wonder. Its power to excite reflection and emotion is its great charm. The geologist will demonstrate that the plunge, or fall, was once at Lake Ontario, and has worn its way back to its present position; he will ascertain how fast it is wearing now, and so get a basis for determining how long it has been wearing back from Lake Ontario, and finally demonstrate by it that this world is at least fourteen thousand years old. A philosopher of a slightly different turn will say, 'Niagara Falls is only the lip of the basin out of which pours all the surplus water which rains down on two or three hundred thousand square miles of the earth's surface.' He will estimate with approximate accuracy that five hundred thousand tons of water fall with their full weight a distance of a hundred feet each minute—thus exerting a force equal to the lifting of the same weight, through the same space, in the same time. . . .

"But still there is more. It calls up the indefinite past. When Columbus first sought this continent—when Christ suffered on the cross—when Moses led Israel through the Red Sea—nay, even when Adam first came from the hand of his Maker; then, as now, Niagara was roaring here. The eyes of that species of extinct giants whose bones fill the mounds of America have gazed on Niagara, as ours do now. Contemporary with the first race of men, and older than the first man, Niagara is strong and fresh to-day as ten thousand years ago. The Mammoth and Mastodon, so long dead that fragments of their monstrous bones alone testify that they ever lived, have gazed on Niagara—in that long, long time never still for a single moment, never dried, never froze, never slept, never rested."

In his trip westward to Springfield from Niagara there occurred an incident which started Lincoln's mind on a new line of thought, one which all that fall divided it with politics. It happened that the boat on which he made part of the trip stranded in shallow water. The devices employed to float her interested Lincoln much. He no doubt recalled the days when on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Sangamon he had seen his own or his neighbor's boats stuck on a sand-bar for hours, even days. Was there no way that these vexatious delays could be prevented in shallow streams? He set himself resolutely at the task of inventing a practical device for getting boats over shoals. When he reached Springfield he began to build a model representing his idea. He showed the deepest interest in the work and Mr. Herndon says he would sometimes bring the model into his office and while whittling on it would talk of its merits and the revolution it was going to work on the western rivers.

When Lincoln returned to Washington he took the model with him, and through Mr. Z. C. Robbins, a lawyer of Washington, secured a patent.

"He walked into my office one morning with a model of a western steamboat under his arm," says Mr. Robbins. "After a friendly greeting he placed his model on my office-table and proceeded to explain the principles embodied therein that he believed to be his own invention, and which, if new, he desired to secure by letters-patent. During my former residence in St. Louis, I had made myself thoroughly familiar with everything appertaining to the construction and equipment of the flat-bottomed steamboats that were adapted to the shallow rivers of our western and southern states, and therefore, I was able speedily to come to the



MODEL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S DEVICE FOR LIFTING VESSELS OVER SHOALS.

The inscription above this model in the Model Hall of the Patent Office, reads, "6469, Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois. Improvement in method of lifting vessels over shoals. Patented May 22, 1849." The apparatus consists of a bellows placed in each side of the hull of the craft, just below the water line, and worked by an odd but simple system of ropes and pulleys. When the keel of the vessel grates against the sand or obstruction, the bellows is filled with air; and thus, buoyed up, the vessel is expected to float over the shoal. The model is about eighteen or twenty inches long, and looks as if it had been whittled with a knife out of a shingle and a cigar box.

conclusion that Mr. Lincoln's proposed improvement of that class of vessels was new and patentable, and I so informed him. Thereupon he instructed me to prepare the necessary drawings and papers and prosecute an application for a patent for his invention at the United States patent office. I complied with his instructions and in due course of proceedings procured for him a patent that fully covered all the distinguishing features of his improved steamboat. The identical model that Mr. Lincoln brought to my office can now be seen in the United States patent office."

But it was only his leisure which Lincoln spent in the fall of 1848 on his invention. All through October and the first days of November he was speaking up and down the state for Taylor. His zeal was rewarded in November by the election of the Whig ticket and a few weeks later he went back to Washington for the final session of the Thirtieth Congress. He went back resolved to do something regarding slavery. He seems to have seen but two things at that moment which could constitutionally be done. The first was to allow the slave-holder no more ground than he had; to accomplish this he continued to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. The second was to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Oven ten years before, in 1837, Lincoln had declared, in the Assembly of Illinois, that the Congress of the United States had the power, under the constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power should be exercised only on request of the people of the District. When he went to Washington in 1847 he found a condition of things which made him feel that Congress ought to exercise the power it had. There had existed for years in the city a slave market:

"a sort of negro livery stable, where droves of negroes were collected, temporarily kept, and finally taken to southern markets, precisely like droves of horses," Lincoln described it in later years; and this frightful place was in view from the windows of the Capitol. Morally and intellectually shocked and irritated by this spectacle, Lincoln brooded over it until now, in the second session of his term, he decided to ask that Congress exercise the power he had affirmed ten years before belonged to it, and he drew up and, on January 16, 1849, presented a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, "with the consent of the voters of the District and with compensation to owners."

The bill caused a noise in the House, but came to naught, as indeed at that date any similar bill was bound to do. It showed, however, more plainly than anything Lincoln had done so far in Congress that he was beginning to feel that aggressive action against slavery must be taken.

The inauguration of Taylor on March 4, 1849, ended Lincoln's congressional career. The principle, "turn about is fair play," which he had insisted on in 1846 when working for the nomination for himself, he regarded as quite as applicable now. It was not because he did not desire to return to Congress.

"I made the declaration that I would not be a candidate again," he wrote Herndon in January, 1848, "more from a wish to deal fairly with others, to keep peace among our friends, and to keep the district from going to the enemy, than from any cause personal to myself; so that, if it should so happen that nobody else wishes to be elected, I could not refuse the people the right of sending me again. But to

enter myself as a competitor of others, or to authorize any one so to enter me, is what my word and honor forbid."

And yet he was not willing to leave public life. The term in Congress had only increased his fondness for politics. It had given him a touch of that fever for public office from which so few men who have served in Congress ever entirely recover. The Whigs owed much to him, and there was a general disposition to gratify any reasonable ambition he might have. "I believe that, so far as the Whigs in Congress are concerned, I could have the General Land Office almost by common consent," he wrote Speed; "but then Sweet and Don Morrison and Browning and Cyrus Edwards all want it, and what is worse, while I think I could easily take it myself, I fear I shall have trouble to get it for any other man in Illinois."

Although he feared his efforts would be useless, he pledged his support to his friend, Cyrus Edwards. While Lincoln was looking after Edwards's interests, a candidate appeared who was most objectionable to the Whigs, General Justin Butterfield. Lincoln did all he could to defeat Butterfield save the one thing necessary—ask the position for himself. This he would not do until he learned that Edwards had no chance. Then he applied; but it was too late. Butterfield had secured the office while Lincoln had been holding back. When Edwards found that Lincoln had finally applied for the place, he accused him of treachery. Lincoln was deeply hurt by the suspicion.

"The better part of one's life consists of his friendships," he wrote to Judge Gillespie, "and, of them, mine with Mr.

Edwards was one of the most cherished. I have not been false to it. At a word I could have had the office any time before the Department was committed to Mr. Butterfield—at least Mr. Ewing and the President say as much. That word I forbore to speak, partly for other reasons, but chiefly for Mr. Edwards's sake—losing the office that he might gain it. I was always for him; but to lose his *friendship*, by the effort for him, would oppress me very much, were I not sustained by the utmost consciousness of rectitude. I first determined to be an applicant, unconditionally, on the 2d of June; and I did so then upon being informed by a telegraphic despatch that the question was narrowed down to Mr. B. and myself, and that the Cabinet had postponed the appointment three weeks for my benefit. Not doubting that Mr. Edwards was wholly out of the question, I, nevertheless, would not then have become an applicant had I supposed he would thereby be brought to suspect me of treachery to him. Two or three days afterwards a conversation with Levi Davis convinced me Mr. Edwards was dissatisfied; but I was then too far in to get out. His own letter, written on the 25th of April, after I had fully informed him of all that had passed, up to within a few days of that time, gave assurance I had that entire confidence from him which I felt my uniform and strong friendship for him entitled me to. Among other things it says: 'Whatever course your judgment may dictate as proper to be pursued shall never be excepted to by me.' I also had had a letter from Washington saying Chambers, of the 'Republic,' had brought a rumor there, that Mr. E. had declined in my favor, which rumor I judged came from Mr. E. himself, as I had not then breathed of his letter to any living creature. In saying I had never, before the 2d of June, determined to be an applicant, *unconditionally*, I mean to admit that, before then, I had said, substantially, I would take the office rather than it should be lost to the state, or given to one in the state whom the Whigs did not want; but I aver that in every instance in which I spoke of myself I intended to

keep, and now believe I did keep, Mr. E. above myself. Mr. Edwards's first suspicion was that I had allowed Baker to overreach me, as his friend, in behalf of Don Morrison. I know this was a mistake; and the result has proved it. I understand his view now is, that if I had gone to open war with Baker I could have ridden him down and had the thing all my own way. I believe no such thing. With Baker and some strong man from the Military tract and elsewhere for Morrison, and we and some strong men from the Wabash and elsewhere for Mr. E., it was not possible for either to succeed. I believed this in March, and I *know* it now. The only thing which gave either any chance was the very thing Baker and I proposed—an adjustment with themselves.

"You may wish to know how Butterfield finally beat me. I cannot tell you particulars now, but will when I see you. In the meantime let it be understood I am not greatly dissatisfied—I wish the office had been so bestowed as to encourage our friends in future contests, and I regret exceedingly Mr. Edwards's feelings towards me. These two things away, I should have no regrets—at least I think I would not."

It was not until eleven years later that Edwards forgave Lincoln. Then at Judge Gillespie's request he promised to "bury the hatchet with Lincoln" and to enter the campaign of 1860 for him.

Lincoln declared that he had no regrets about the way the General Land Office went, but, if he had not, his Whig friends in Washington had. They determined to do something for him, and in the summer of 1849 summoned him to the capital to urge him to accept the governorship of Oregon. The territory would soon be a state, it was believed, and Lincoln would then undoubtedly be chosen to represent it in

the United States Senate. Unquestionably, a splendid political prospect was thus opened. Many of Lincoln's friends advised him to accept; his wife, however, disliked the idea of life in the far West, and on her account he refused the place.

The events of the summer of 1849 seemed to Lincoln to end his political career. He had no time to brood over his situation, however. The necessity of earning a livelihood was too imperative. His financial obligations were, in fact, considerable. The old debt for the New Salem store still hung over him; he had a growing family; and his father and mother, who were still living in Coles County, whither they had moved in 1831, were dependent upon him for many of the necessaries, as well as all the comforts, of their lives. At intervals ever since he had left home he had helped them; now by saving their land from the foreclosing of a mortgage, now by paying their doctor's bills, now by adding to the cheerfulness of their home.

He was equally kind to his other relatives, visiting them and aiding them in various ways. Among these relatives were two cousins, Abraham and Mordecai, the sons of his uncle Mordecai Lincoln, who lived in Hancock County, in his congressional district. At Quincy, also in his district, lived with his family a relative, possibly a brother, of his mother—Joseph Hanks. Lincoln never went to Quincy without going to see his uncle Joseph and "uncle Joe's Jake," as he called one of his cousins. "On these occasions," writes one of the latter's family, Mr. J. M. Hanks of Florence, Colorado, "mirth and jollity abounded, for Mr. Lincoln indulged his bent of story-telling to the ut-

most, until a late hour." His step-brother, John Johnston, he aided for many years. His help did not always take the form of money. Johnston was shiftless and always in debt, and consequently restless and discontented. In 1851 he was determined to borrow money or sell his farm, and move to Missouri. He proposed to Mr. Lincoln that he lend him eighty dollars. Mr. Lincoln answered:

"What I propose is, that you shall go to work, 'tooth and nail,' for somebody who will give you money for it. . . . I now promise you, that for every dollar you will, between this and the first of May, get for your own labor, either in money or as your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar. . . . In this I do not mean you shall go off to St. Louis, or the lead mines, or the gold mines in California, but I mean for you to go at it for the best wages you can get close to home in Coles County. Now, if you will do this, you will be soon out of debt, and, what is better, you will have a habit that will keep you from getting in debt again. But, if I should now clear you out of debt, next year you would be just as deep in as ever. You say you would almost give your place in Heaven for seventy or eighty dollars. Then you value your place in Heaven very cheap, for I am sure you can, with the offer I make, get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work."

A few months later Lincoln wrote Johnston in regard to his contemplated move to Missouri:

"What can you do in Missouri better than here? Is the land any richer? Can you there, any more than here, raise corn and wheat and oats without work? Will anybody there, any more than here, do your work for you? If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you cannot

get along anywhere. Squirming and crawling about from place to place can do no good. You have raised no crop this year; and what you really want is to sell the land, get the money, and spend it. Part with the land you have, and, my life upon it, you will never after own a spot big enough to bury you in. Half you will get for the land you will spend in moving to Missouri, and the other half you will eat, drink, and wear out, and no foot of land will be bought. Now, I feel it my duty to have no hand in such a piece of foolery."

All this plain advice did not prevent Johnston trying to sell a small piece of land on which Mr. Lincoln had paid the mortgage in order to secure it to his stepmother during her life. When Mr. Lincoln received this proposition he replied:

"Your proposal about selling the east forty acres of land is all that I want or could claim for *myself;* but I am not satisfied with it on *mother's* account. I want her to have her living, and I feel that it is my duty, to some extent, to see that she is not wronged. She had a right of dower (that is, the use of one-third for life) in the other two forties; but, it seems, she has already let you take that, hook and line. She now has the use of the whole of the east forty as long as she lives, and if it be sold, of course she is entitled to the interest on *all* the money it brings as long as she lives; but you propose to sell it for three hundred dollars, take one hundred away with you, and leave her two hundred at eight per cent., making her the *enormous* sum of sixteen dollars a year. Now, if you are satisfied with treating her in that way, I am not. It is true that you are to have that forty for two hundred dollars *at* mother's death; but you are not to have it *before.* I am confident that land can be made to produce for mother at least thirty dollars a year, and I cannot, to oblige any living person, consent that she shall be put on an allowance of sixteen dollars a year."

It was these obligations which made Lincoln resume at once the practice of the law. He decided to remain in Springfield, although he had an opportunity to go in with a well-established Chicago lawyer. For many reasons life in Springfield was satisfactory to him. He had bought a home there in 1844, and was deeply attached to it. There, too, he was surrounded by scores of friends who had known him since his first appearance in the town, and to many of whom he was related by marriage; and he had the good-will of the community. In short, he was a part of Springfield. The very children knew him. "My first strong impression of Mr. Lincoln," says a lady of Springfield, "was made by one of his kind deeds. I was going with a little friend for my first trip alone on the railroad cars. It was an epoch of my life. I had planned for it and dreamed of it for weeks. The day I was to go came, but as the hour of the train approached, the hackman, through some neglect, failed to call for my trunk. As the minutes went on, I realized, in a panic of grief, that I should miss the train. I was standing by the gate, my hat and gloves on, sobbing as if my heart would break, when Mr. Lincoln came by.

" 'Why, what's the matter?' he asked, and I poured out all my story.

" 'How big's the trunk? There's still time, if it isn't too big.' And he pushed through the gate and up to the door. My mother and I took him up to my room, where my little old-fashioned trunk stood, locked and tied. 'Oh, ho,' he cried; 'wipe your eyes and come on quick.' And before I knew what he was

going to do, he had shouldered the trunk, was down stairs, and striding out of the yard. Down the street he went, fast as his long legs could carry him, I trotting behind, drying my tears as I went. We reached the station in time. Mr. Lincoln put me on the train, kissed me good-bye, and told me to have a good time. It was just like him."

This sensitiveness to a child's wants made Mr. Lincoln a most indulgent father. He continually carried his boys about with him, and their pranks, even when they approached rebellion, seemed to be an endless delight to him. Like most boys, they loved to run away, and neighbors of the Lincolns tell many tales of Mr. Lincoln's captures of the culprits. One of the prettiest of all these is a story told of an escape Willie once made, when three or four years old, from the hands of his mother, who was giving him a tubbing. He scampered out of the door without the vestige of a garment on him, flew up the street, slipped under a fence into a great green field, and took across it. Mr. Lincoln was sitting on the porch and discovered the pink and white runaway as he was cutting across the greensward. He stood up, laughing aloud, while the mother entreated him to go in pursuit; then he started in chase. Half-way across the field he caught the child and, gathering him up in his long arms, he covered his rosy form with kisses. Then, mounting him on his back, the chubby legs around his neck, he rode him back to his mother and his tub.

It was a frequent custom with Lincoln, this of carrying his children on his shoulders. He rarely went down street that he did not have one of his

younger boys thus mounted, while another hung to the tail of his long coat. The antics of the boys with their father, and the species of tyranny they exercised over him, are still subjects of talk in Springfield. Mr. Roland Diller, who was a neighbor of Mr. Lincoln, tells one of the best of the stories. He was called to the door one day by hearing a great noise of children crying, and there was Mr. Lincoln striding by with the boys, both of whom were wailing aloud. "Why, Mr. Lincoln, what's the matter with the boys?" he asked.

"Just what's the matter with the whole world," Lincoln replied; "I've got three walnuts and each wants two."

Another of Lincoln's Springfield acquaintances, the Rev. Mr. Alcott of Elgin, Ill., tells of seeing him coming away from church, unusually early one Sunday morning. "The sermon could not have been more than half way through," says Mr. Alcott. "'Tad' was slung across his left arm like a pair of saddle-bags, and Mr. Lincoln was striding along with long, and deliberate steps toward his home. On one of the street corners he encountered a group of his fellow-townsmen. Mr. Lincoln anticipated the question which was about to be put by the group, and, taking his figure of speech from practices with which they were familiar, said: 'Gentlemen, I entered this colt, but he kicked around so I had to withdraw him.'"

There was no institution in Springfield in which Lincoln had not taken an active interest in the first years of his residence; and now that he had decided to remain in the town, he resumed all his old relations,

from the daily visits to the drug-stores on the public square, which were the recognized rendezvous of Springfield politicians and lawyers, to his weekly attendance at the First Presbyterian Church. That he was as regular in his attendance on the latter as on the former, all his old neighbors testify. In fact, Lincoln, all his life, went regularly to church. The serious attention which he gave the sermons he heard is shown in a well-authenticated story of a visit he made in 1837, with a company of friends, to a camp-meeting held six miles west of Springfield at the "Salem Church." The sermon on this occasion was preached by one of the most vigorous and original individuals in the pulpit of that day—the Rev. Dr. Peter Akers. In this discourse was a remarkable and prophetic passage, long remembered by those who heard it. The speaker prophesied the downfall of castes, the end of tyrannies, and the crushing out of slavery. As Lincoln and his friends returned home there was a long discussion of the sermon.

"It was the most instructive sermon, and he is the most impressive preacher, I have ever heard," Lincoln said. "It is wonderful that God has given such power to men. I firmly believe his interpretation of prophecy, so far as I understand it, and especially about the breaking down of civil and religious tyrannies; and, odd as it may seem, when he described those changes and revolutions, I was deeply impressed that I should be somehow strangely mixed up with them."

If Lincoln was not at this period a man of orthodox beliefs, he certainly was, if we accept his own words, profoundly religious. In the letters which passed be-

tween Lincoln and Speed in 1841 and 1842, when the two men were doubting their own hearts and wrestling with their disillusions and forebodings, Lincoln frequently expressed the idea that the Almighty had sent their suffering for a special purpose. When Speed finally acknowledged himself happily married, Lincoln wrote to him: "I always was superstitious; I believe God made me one of the instruments of bringing your Fanny and you together, which union I have no doubt he had foreordained." Then, referring to his own troubled heart, he added: "Whatever He designs He will do for me yet. 'Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord,' is my text just now."

Only a few months after Lincoln decided to settle permanently in Springfield his father, Thomas Lincoln, fell dangerously ill. Lincoln in writing to John Johnston, his step-brother, said: "I sincerely hope father may recover his health, but, at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him."

Lincoln's return to the law was characterized by a marked change in his habits. He gave much more attention to study than he ever had before. His colleagues in Springfield and on the circuit noticed this change. After court closed in the town on the circuit, and the lawyers were gathered in the bar-room or on the veranda of the tavern, telling stories and chaffing one another, Lincoln would join them, though often

but for a few minutes. He would tell a story as he passed, and while they were laughing at its climax, would slip away to his room to study. Frequently this work was carried on far into the night. "Placing a candle on a chair at the head of the bed," says Mr. Herndon, "he would study for hours. I have known him to study in this position until two o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile, I and others who chanced to occupy the same room would be safely and soundly asleep." Although he worked so late, "he was in the habit of rising earlier than his brothers of the bar," says Judge Weldon. "On such occasions he was wont to sit by the fire, having uncovered the coals, and muse, ponder, and soliloquize."

But it was not only the law that occupied him. He began a serious course of general education, studying mathematics, astronomy, poetry, as regularly as a school-boy who had lessons to recite. In the winter of 1849-50 he even joined a club of a dozen gentlemen of Springfield who had begun the study of German, the meetings of the class being held in his office.

Much of Lincoln's devotion to study at this period was due to his desire to bring himself in general culture up to the men whom he had been meeting in the East. No man ever realized his own deficiencies in knowledge and experience more deeply than Abraham Lincoln, nor made a braver struggle to correct them. He often acknowledged to his friends the consciousness he had of his limitations in even the simplest matters of life. Mr. H. C. Whitney, one of his old friends, gives a touching example of this. They were on the circuit and Lincoln's friends missed him after

supper. When he returned, some one asked where he had been.

"Well, I have been to a little show up at the Academy," he said.

"He sat before the fire," says Mr. Whitney, "and narrated all the sights of that most primitive of county shows, given chiefly to school children. Next night he was missing again; the show was still in town, and he stole in as before, and later entertained us with a description of new sights—a magic lantern, electrical machine, etc. I told him I had seen all these sights at school. 'Yes,' said he sadly, 'I now have an advantage over you, for the first time in my life seeing these things which are, of course, common to those who had, what I did not, a chance at an education when they were young.'"

It was to make up for the "chance at an education" which he did not have in youth that Abraham Lincoln at forty years of age, after having earned the reputation of being one of the ablest politicians in Illinois, spent his leisure in study.

CHAPTER XV

LINCOLN ON THE CIRCUIT—HIS HUMOR AND PERSUASIVENESS—HIS MANNER OF PREPARING CASES, EXAMINING WITNESSES, AND ADDRESSING JURIES

When in 1849 Lincoln decided to abandon politics finally and to devote himself to the law, he had been practising for thirteen years. In spite of the many interruptions electioneering and office-holding had caused he was well-established. Rejoining his partner Herndon—the firm of Lincoln and Herndon had been only a name during Lincoln's term in Washington—he took up the law with a singleness of purpose which had never before characterized his practice.

Lincoln's headquarters were in Springfield, but his practice was itinerant. The arrangements for the administration of justice in Illinois in the early days were suited to the conditions of the country, the state being divided into judicial circuits including more or less territory according to the population. To each circuit a judge was appointed, who each spring and fall travelled from county-seat to county-seat holding court. With the judge travelled a certain number of the best-known lawyers of the district. Each lawyer had, of course, a permanent office in one of the county-seats, and often at several of the others he had partners, usually young men of little experience, for whom he acted as counsel in special cases. This peripatetic court prevailed in Illinois until the beginning of the

fifties; but for many years after, when the towns had grown so large that a clever lawyer might have enough to do in his own county, a few lawyers, Lincoln among them, who from long association felt that the circuit was their natural habitat refused to leave it.

Lincoln travelled what was known as the "Eighth Judicial Circuit." It included fifteen counties in 1845, though the territory has since been divided into more. It was about one hundred and fifty miles long by as many broad. There were no railroads in the Eighth Circuit until about 1854, and the court travelled on horseback or in carriages. Lincoln had no horse in the early days of his practice. It was his habit then to borrow one, or to join a company of a half dozen or more in hiring a "three-seated spring wagon." Later he owned a turn-out of his own, which figures in nearly all the traditions of the Eighth Circuit, the horse being described as "poky" and the buggy as "rattling."

There was much that was irritating and uncomfortable in the circuit-riding of the Illinois court, but there was more which was amusing to a temperament like Lincoln's. The freedom, the long days in the open air, the unexpected if trivial adventures, the meeting with wayfarers and settlers—all was an entertainment to him. He found humor and human interest on the route where his companions saw nothing but commonplaces. "He saw the ludicrous in an assemblage of fowls," says H. C. Whitney, one of his fellow-itinerants, "in a man spading his garden, in a clothes-line full of clothes, in a group of boys, in

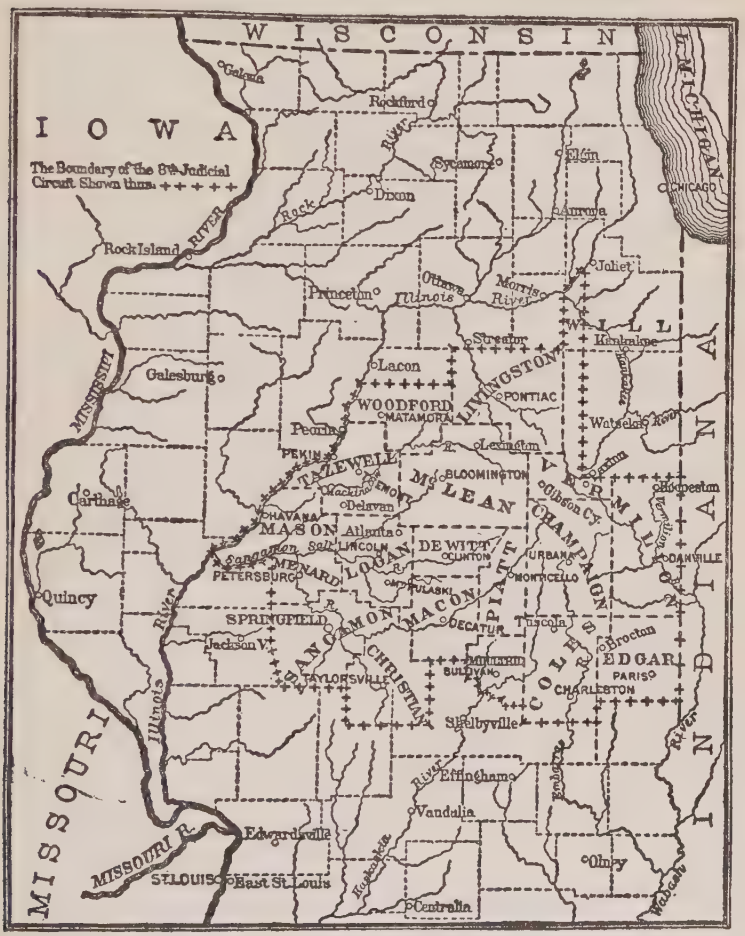
a lot of pigs rooting at a mill door, in a mother duck teaching her brood to swim—in everything and anything." The sympathetic observations of these long rides furnished humorous settings for some of his best stories. If frequently on these trips he fell into sombre reveries and rode with head bent, ignoring his companions, generally he took part in all the frolicking which went on, joining in practical jokes, singing noisily with the rest, sometimes even playing a Jew's-harp.

When the county-seat was reached, the bench and bar quickly settled themselves in the town tavern. It was usually a large two-story house with big rooms and long verandas. There was little exclusiveness possible in these hostelries. Ordinarily judge and lawyer slept two in a bed, and three or four beds in a room. They ate at the common table with jurors, witnesses, prisoners out on bail, travelling peddlers, teamsters, and laborers. The only attempt at classification on the landlord's part was seating the lawyers in a group at the head of the table. Most of them accepted this distinction complacently. Lincoln, however, seemed to be indifferent to it. One day, when he had come in and seated himself at the foot with the "fourth estate," the landlord called to him, "You're in the wrong place, Mr. Lincoln; come up here."

"Have you anything better to eat up there, Joe?" he inquired quizzically; "if not, I'll stay here."

The accommodations of the taverns were often unsatisfactory—the food poorly cooked, the beds hard. Lincoln accepted everything with uncomplaining good nature, though his companions habitually

growled at the hardships of the life. It was not only repugnance to criticism which might hurt others, it



FACSIMILE OF MAP OF CIRCUIT WHICH LINCOLN TRAVELLED IN PRACTISING LAW.

was the indifference of one whose thoughts were always busy with problems apart from physical comfort, who had little notion of the so-called "refine-

ments of life," and almost no sense of luxury and ease.

The judge naturally was the leading character in these nomadic groups. He received all the special consideration the democratic spirit of the inhabitants bestowed on any one and controlled his privacy and his time to a degree. Judge David Davis, who from 1848 presided over the Eighth Circuit as long as Mr. Lincoln travelled it, was a man of unusual force of character, of large learning, quick impulses, and strong prejudices. Lincoln was from the beginning of their association a favorite with Judge Davis. Unless he joined the circle which the judge formed in his room after supper, his honor was impatient and distraught, interrupting the conversation constantly by demanding: "Where's Lincoln?" "Why don't Lincoln come?" And when Lincoln did come, the judge would draw out story after story, quieting everybody who interrupted with an impatient, "Mr. Lincoln's talking." If any one came to the door to see the host in the midst of one of Lincoln's stories he would send a lawyer into the hall to see what was wanted, and as soon as the door closed, order Lincoln to "go ahead."

The appearance of the court in a town was invariably a stimulus to its social life. In all of the county-seats there were a few fine homes, the dignity, spaciousness, and elegance of which still impress the traveller through Illinois. The hospitality of these houses was generous. Dinners, receptions, and suppers followed one another as soon as the court began. Lincoln was a favorite figure at all these gatherings.

His favorite field, however, was the court. The court-houses of Illinois in which he practised were not log houses, as has been frequently taken for granted. "It is not probable," says a leading member of the Illinois bar, "Mr. Lincoln ever saw a log court-house in central Illinois, where he practised law, unless he saw one at Decatur, in Macon County. In a conversation between three members of the Supreme Court of Illinois, all of whom had been born in this state and had lived in it all their lives, and who were certainly familiar with the central portions of the state, all declared they had never seen a log court-house in the state."

The court-houses in which Lincoln practised were stiff, old-fashioned wood or brick structures, usually capped by cupola or tower, and fronted by verandas with huge Doric or Ionic pillars. They were finished inside in the most uncompromising style—hard white walls, unpainted woodwork, pine floors, wooden benches. Usually they were heated by huge Franklin stoves, with yards of stove-pipe running wildly through the air, searching for an exit, and threatening momentarily to unjoint and tumble in sections. Few of the lawyers had offices in the town; and a corner of the court-room, the shade of a tree in the court-yard, a sunny side of a building, were where they met their clients and transacted business.

In the courts themselves there was a certain indifference to formality engendered by the primitive surroundings, which, however, the judges never allowed to interfere with the seriousness of the work. Lincoln habitually, when not busy, whispered stories

to his neighbors, frequently to the annoyance of Judge Davis. If Lincoln persisted too long, the judge would rap on the chair and exclaim: "Come, come, Mr. Lincoln, I can't stand this! There is no use trying to carry on two courts; I must adjourn mine or you yours, and I think you will have to be the one." As soon as the group had scattered, the judge would call one of the men to him and ask: "What was that Lincoln was telling?"

"I was never fined but once for contempt of court," says one of the clerks of the court in Lincoln's day. "Davis fined me five dollars. Mr. Lincoln had just come in, and leaning over my desk had told me a story so irresistibly funny that I broke out into a loud laugh. The judge called me to order in haste, saying, 'This must be stopped. Mr. Lincoln, you are constantly disturbing this court with your stories.' Then to me, 'You may fine yourself five dollars for your disturbance.' I apologized, but told the judge that the story was worth the money. In a few minutes the judge called me to him. 'What was the story Lincoln told you?' he asked. I told him, and he laughed aloud in spite of himself. 'Remit your fine,' he ordered."

The partiality of Judge Davis for Lincoln was shared by the members of the court generally. The unaffected friendliness and helpfulness of his nature had more to do with this than his wit and cleverness. If there was a new clerk in court, a stranger unused to the ways of the place, Lincoln was the first—sometimes the only one—to shake hands with him and congratulate him on his election.

"No lawyer on the circuit was more unassuming

than was Mr. Lincoln," says one who practised with him. "He arrogated to himself no superiority over anyone—not even the most obscure member of the bar. He treated everyone with that simplicity and kindness that friendly neighbors manifest in their relations with one another. He was remarkably gentle with young lawyers becoming permanent residents at the several county-seats in the circuit where he had practised for so many years. . . . The result was, he became the much-beloved senior member of the bar. No young lawyer ever practised in the courts with Mr. Lincoln who did not in all his after life have a regard for him akin to personal affection."

"I remember with what confidence I always went to him," says Judge Lawrence Weldon, who first knew Lincoln at the bar in 1854, "because I was certain he knew all about the matter and would most cheerfully help me. I can see him now, through the decaying memories of thirty years, standing in the corner of the old court-room; and as I approached him with a paper I did not understand, he said, 'Wait until I fix this plug of my "gallis" and I will pitch into that like a dog at a root.' While speaking he was busily engaged in trying to connect his suspenders with his pants by making a plug perform the function of a button."

If for any reason Lincoln was absent from court, he was missed perhaps as no other man on the Eighth Circuit would have been, and his return greeted joyously. He was not less happy himself to rejoin his friends. "Ain't you glad I've come?" he would call out, as he came up to shake hands.

The cases which fell to Lincoln on the Eighth Circuit were of the sort common to a new country—litigation over border lines, over deeds, over damages by wandering cattle, over broils at country festivities. Few of the cases were of large importance. When a client came to Lincoln his first effort was to arrange matters, if possible, so as to avoid a suit. In a few notes for a law lecture prepared about 1850, he says:

"Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbors to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often a real loser—in fees, expenses, and waste of time. As a peacemaker the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man. There will still be business enough.

"Never stir up litigation. A worse man can scarcely be found than one who does this. Who can be more nearly a fiend than he who habitually overhauls the register of deeds in search of defects in titles, whereon to stir up strife, and put money in his pocket? A moral tone ought to be infused into the profession which should drive such men out of it."

He carried out this in his practice. "Who was your guardian?" he asked a young man who came to him to complain that a part of the property left him had been withheld. "Enoch Kingsbury," replied the young man.

"I know Mr. Kingsbury," said Lincoln, "and he is not the man to have cheated you out of a cent, and I can't take the case, and advise you to drop the subject." And it was dropped.

"We shall not take your case," he said to a man who had shown that by a legal technicality he could win property worth six hundred dollars. "You must

remember that some things legally right are not morally right. We shall not take your case, but will give you a little advice for which we will charge you nothing. You seem to be a sprightly, energetic man; we would advise you to try your hand at making six hundred dollars in some other way."

Where he saw injustice he was quick to offer his services to the wronged party. A pleasant example of this is related by Joseph Jefferson in his "Autobiography." In 1839, Jefferson, then a lad of ten years, travelled through Illinois with his father's theatrical company. After playing at Chicago, Quincy, Peoria and Pekin, the company went in the fall to Springfield, where the sight of the legislature tempted the elder Jefferson and his partner to remain throughout the season. But there was no theatre. Not to be daunted they built one. But hardly had they completed it before a religious revival broke out in the town, and the church people turned all their influence against the theatre. So effectually did they work that a law was passed by the municipality imposing a license which was practically prohibitory. "In the midst of our trouble," says Jefferson, "a young lawyer called on the managers. He had heard of the injustice, and offered, if they would place the matter in his hands, to have the license taken off, declaring that he only desired to see fair play, and he would accept no fee whether he failed or succeeded. The young lawyer began his harangue. He handled the subject with tact, skill, and humor, tracing the history of the drama from the time when Thespis acted in a cart to the stage of to-day. He illustrated his

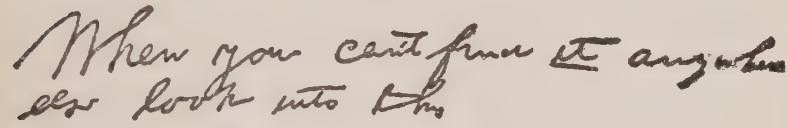
speech with a number of anecdotes, and kept the council in a roar of laughter. His good humor prevailed, and the exorbitant tax was taken off." The "young lawyer" was Lincoln.

Having accepted a case, Lincoln's first object seemed to be to reduce it to its simplest elements. "If I can clean this case of technicalities and get it properly swung to the jury, I'll win it," he told his partner Herndon one day. He began by getting at what seemed to him the pivot on which it rested. Sure of that, he cared little for anything else. He trusted very little to books; a great deal to common sense and his ideas of right and wrong.

"In the make of his character Mr. Lincoln had many elements essential to the successful circuit lawyer," says one of his fellow-practitioners. "He knew much of the law as written in the books, and had that knowledge ready for use at all times. That was a valuable possession in the absence of law books, where none were obtainable on the circuit. But he had more than a knowledge of the law. He knew right and justice, and knew how to make their application to the affairs of every-day life. That was an element in his character that gave him power to prevail with the jury when arguing a case before them. Few lawyers ever had the influence with a jury that Mr. Lincoln had."

When a case was clear to him and he was satisfied of its justice, he trusted to taking advantage of the developments of the trial to win. For this reason he made few notes beforehand, rarely writing out his plan of argument. Those he left are amusingly brief;

for instance, the notes made for a suit he had brought against a pension agent who had withheld as fee half of the pension he had obtained for the aged widow of a Revolutionary soldier. Lincoln was deeply indignant at the agent and had resolved to win his suit. He read up the Revolutionary War afresh, and when he came to address the jury drew a harrowing picture of the private soldier's sufferings and of the trials of his separation from his wife. The notes for this argument ran as follows:



FACSIMILE OF A LINCOLN MEMORANDUM.

From the Lincoln collection in the law offices of Messrs. Vanuxem & Potter, of Philadelphia. This characteristic memorandum was found by Messrs. Herndon & Weik in looking over the papers in Lincoln's law office. It was the label to a package of letters, pamphlets, and newspapers which he had tied together and marked.

"No contract—Not professional services. Unreasonable charge,—Money retained by Def't not given by Pl'ff.—Revolutionary War.—Soldier's bleeding feet.—Pl'ff's husband.—Soldier leaving home for army.—*Skin def't.*—Close."

Lincoln's reason for not taking notes, as he told it to H. W. Beckwith, when a student in the Danville office of Lincoln and Lamon, was: "Notes are a bother, taking time to make, and more to hunt them up afterwards; lawyers who do so soon get the habit of referring to them so much that it confuses and tires the jury." "He relied on his well-trained memory," says Mr. Beckwith, "that recorded and indexed every

passing detail. And by his skilful questions, a joke, or pat retort as the trial progressed, he steered his jury from the bayous and eddies of side issues and kept them clear of the snags and sandbars, if any were put in the real channel of his case."

Much of his strength lay in his skill in examining witnesses. "He had a most remarkable talent for examining witnesses," says an intimate associate; "with him it was a rare gift. It was a power to compel a witness to disclose the whole truth. Even a witness at first unfriendly, under his kindly treatment would finally become friendly, and would wish to tell nothing he could honestly avoid against him, if he could state nothing for him."

He could not endure an unfair use of testimony or the misrepresentation of his own position. "In the Harrison murder case," says Mr. T. W. S. Kidd of Springfield, a crier of the court in Lincoln's day, "the prosecuting attorney stated that such a witness made a certain statement, when Mr. Lincoln rose and made such a plaintive appeal to the attorney to correct the statement, that the attorney actually made the *amende honorable,* and afterwards remarked to a brother lawyer that he could deny his own child's appeal as quickly as he could Mr. Lincoln's."

Sometimes under provocation he became violently angry. In the murder case referred to above, the judge ruled contrary to his expectations, and, as Mr. Lincoln said, contrary to the decision of the Supreme Court in a similar case. "Both Mr. Lincoln and Judge Logan, who was with him in the case," says Mr. Kidd, "rose to their feet quick as thought. I do

think he was the most unearthly looking man I had ever seen. He roared like a lion suddenly aroused from his lair and said and did more in ten minutes than I ever heard him say or saw him do before in an hour."

He depended a great deal upon stories in his pleading, using them as illustrations which demonstrated the case more conclusively than argument could have done. Judge H. W. Beckwith of Danville, Illinois, in his "Personal Recollections of Lincoln," tells a story which is a good example of Lincoln's way of condensing the law and the facts of an issue in a story.

"A man, by vile words, first provoked and then made a bodily attack upon another. The latter in defending himself gave the other much the worst of the encounter. The aggressor, to get even, had the one who thrashed him tried in our circuit court upon a charge of assault and battery. Mr. Lincoln defended. His client, he told the jury, was in the fix of a man who, in going along the highway with a pitchfork on his shoulder, was attacked by a fierce dog that ran out at him from a farmer's dooryard. In parrying off the brute with the fork its prongs stuck into the brute and killed him.

" 'What made you kill my dog?' said the farmer.

" 'What made him try to bite me?'

" 'But why did you not go at him with the other end of the pitchfork?'

" 'Why did he not come after me with his other end?' At this Mr. Lincoln whirled about in his long arms an imaginary dog and pushed its tail end toward the jury. This was the defensive plea of *'son assault*

demesne'—loosely, that 'the other fellow brought on the fight,'—quickly told, and in a way the dullest mind would grasp and retain."

Mr. T. W. S. Kidd says that he once heard a lawyer opposed to Lincoln trying to convince a jury that precedent was superior to law, and that custom made things legal in all cases. When Lincoln arose to answer him he told the jury he would argue his case in the same way. Said he: "Old 'Squire Bagly, from Menard, came into my office and said, 'Lincoln, I want your advice as a lawyer. Has a man what's been elected justice of the peace a right to issue a marriage license?' I told him he had not; when the old 'squire threw himself back in his chair very indignantly, and said: 'Lincoln, I thought you was a lawyer. Now Bob Thomas and me had a bet on this thing, and we agreed to let you decide; but if this is your opinion I don't want it, for I know a thunderin' sight better, for I have been 'squire now eight years and have done it all the time.' "

His manner of telling stories was most effective. "When he chose to do so," writes Judge Scott, "he could place the opposite party, and his counsel too, for that matter, in a most ridiculous attitude by relating in his inimitable way a pertinent story. That often gave him a great advantage with the jury. A young lawyer had brought an action in trespass to recover damages done to his client's growing crops by defendant's hogs. The right of action under the law of Illinois, as it was then, depended on the fact whether plaintiff's fence was sufficient to turn ordinary stock. There was some little conflict in the

evidence on that question; but the weight of the testimony was decidedly in favor of plaintiff and sustained beyond all doubt his cause of action. Mr. Lincoln appeared for defendant. There was no controversy as to the damage done by defendant's stock. The only thing in the case that could possibly admit of any discussion was the condition of plaintiff's fence; and as the testimony on that question seemed to be in favor of plaintiff, and as the sum involved was little in amount, Mr. Lincoln did not deem it necessary to argue the case seriously, but by way of saying something in behalf of his client he told a little story about a *fence* that was so *crooked* that when a hog went through an opening in it, invariably it came out on the same side from whence it started. His description of the confused look of the hog after several times going through the fence and still finding itself on the side from which it had started was a humorous specimen of the best story-telling. The effect was to make plaintiff's case appear ridiculous; and while Mr. Lincoln did not attempt to apply the story to the case, the jury seemed to think it had some kind of application to the fence in controversy—otherwise he would not have told it—and shortly returned a verdict for the defendant."

Those unfamiliar with his methods frequently took his stories as an effort to wring a laugh from the jury. A lawyer, a stranger to Mr. Lincoln, once expressed to General Linder the opinion that this practice of Lincoln was a waste of time. "Don't lay that flattering unction to your soul," Linder answered; "Lincoln is like Tansey's horse, he 'breaks to win.' "

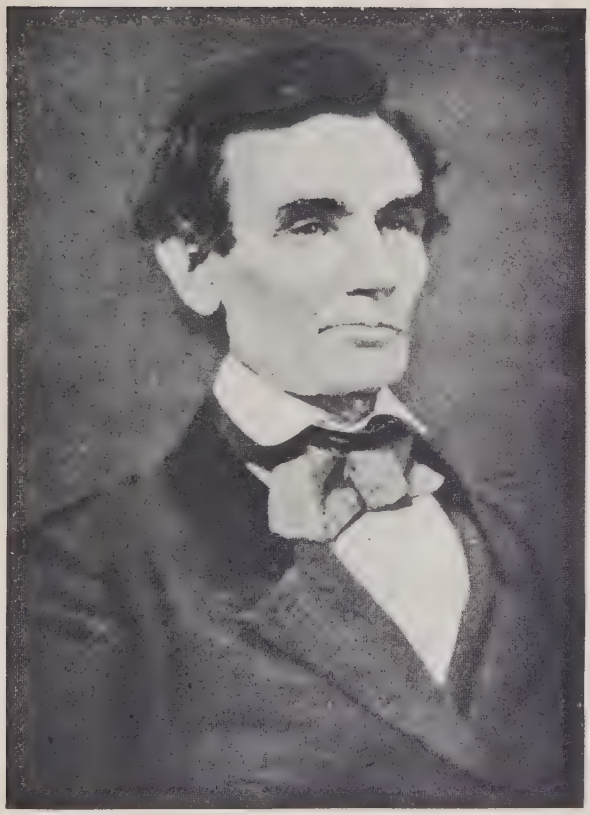
But it was not his stories, it was his clearness which was his strongest point. He meant that the jury should see that he was right. For this reason he never used a word which the dullest juryman could not understand. Rarely, if ever, did a Latin term creep into his arguments. A lawyer quoting a legal maxim one day in court, turned to Lincoln, and said: "That is so, is it not, Mr. Lincoln?"

"If that's Latin," Lincoln replied, "you had better call another witness."

His illustrations were almost always of the homeliest kind. He did not care to "go among the ancients for figures," he said.

"Much of the force of his argument," writes Judge Scott, "lay in his logical statement of the facts of a case. When he had in that way secured a clear understanding of the facts, the jury and the court would seem naturally to follow him in his conclusions as to the law of the case. His simple and natural presentation of the facts seemed to give the impression that the jury were themselves making the statement. He had the happy and unusual faculty of making the jury believe *they*—and not *he*—were trying the case. Mr. Lincoln kept himself in the background and apparently assumed nothing more than to be an *assistant* counsel to the court or the jury, on whom the primary responsibility for the final decision of the case in fact rested."

He rarely consulted books during a trial, lest he lose the attention of the jury, and if obliged to, translated their statements into the simplest terms. In his desire to keep his case clear he rarely argued points



MR. LINCOLN IN 1857.

From an ambrotype made in the fall of 1857 at Urbana, Illinois. Mr. Lincoln is wearing the photographer's coat, he having gone to the gallery in a light linen garment which would not "take" well. This accounts for the peculiar "fit"!

which seemed to him unessential. "In law it is good policy never to plead what you need not, lest you oblige yourself to prove what you can not," he wrote. He would thus give away point after point with an indifferent "I reckon that's so," until the point which he considered pivotal was reached, and there he hung.

"In making a speech," says Mr. John Hill, "Mr. Lincoln was the plainest man I ever heard. He was not a speaker but a talker. He talked to jurors and to political gatherings plain, sensible, candid talk, almost as in conversation, no effort whatever in oratory. But his talking had wonderful effect. Honesty, candor, fairness, everything that was convincing, were in his manner and expressions."

This candor of which Mr. Hill speaks characterized his entire conduct of a trial. "It is well understood by the profession," says General Mason Brayman, "that lawyers do not read authorities favoring the opposing side. I once heard Mr. Lincoln, in the Supreme Court of Illinois, reading from a reported case some strong points in favor of his argument. Reading a little too far, and before becoming aware of it, he plunged into an authority against himself. Pausing a moment, he drew up his shoulders in a comical way, and half laughing, went on, 'There, there, may it please the court, I reckon I've scratched up a snake. But, as I'm in for it, I guess I'll read it through.' Then, in his most ingenious and matchless manner, he went on with his argument and won his case, convincing the court that it was not much of a snake after all."

CHAPTER XVI

LINCOLN'S IMPORTANT LAW CASES—DEFENCE OF A SLAVE GIRL—THE MC CORMICK CASE—THE ARMSTRONG MURDER CASE—THE ROCK ISLAND BRIDGE CASE

Abraham Lincoln's place in the legal circle of Illinois long went undefined. The impression prevailed that, though a faithful and trusted lawyer, he never rose to the first rank of his profession. This idea came from imperfect information concerning his legal career. An examination of the reports of the Illinois Supreme Court from 1840, when he tried his first case before that body, to 1861, when he gave up his profession to become President of the United States, shows that in this period of twenty years, broken as it was, from 1847 to 1849, by a term in Congress, and interrupted constantly, from 1854 to 1860, by his labors in opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Lincoln was engaged in nearly one hundred cases before that court, some of them of great importance. This fact alone shows him to have been one of the leading lawyers of his state. Between ninety and one hundred cases before the Supreme Court of a state in twenty years is a record surpassed by but few lawyers. It was exceeded by none of Lincoln's Illinois contemporaries.

Among the cases in which he was prominent and of which we have reports, there are several of dramatic

import, viewing them, as we can now, in connection with his later life. One of the first in which he appeared before the Illinois Supreme Court involved the freedom of a negro girl called Nance. In spite of the fact that Illinois had been free since its admission as a state, many traces of slavery still remained, particularly in the southern and central parts of the state. Among the scattered slaveholders was one Nathan Cromwell of Tazewell County, who for some years had in his service a negro girl, Nance. He claimed that Nance was bound to him by indenture, and that he had the right to sell her as any other property, a right he succeeded finally in exercising. One of his neighbors, Baily by name, bought the girl; but the purchase was conditional: Baily was to pay for his property only when he received from Cromwell title papers showing that Nance was bound to serve under the laws of the state. These papers Cromwell failed to produce before his death. Later his heirs sued Baily for the purchase price. Baily employed Lincoln to defend him. The case was tried in September, 1839, and decided against Baily. Then in July, 1841, it was tried again, before the Supreme Court of the state. Lincoln proved that Nance had lived for several years in the state, that she was over twenty-one years of age, that she had declared herself to be free, and that she had even purchased goods on her own account. The list of authorities he used in the trial to prove that Nance could not be held in bondage shows that he was already familiar with both Federal and state legislation on the slavery question up to that date. He went back to the Ordinance of 1787 to

show that slavery was forbidden in the Northwest Territory; he recalled the Constitution that had made the state free in 1818; he showed that by the law of nations no person can be sold in a free state. His argument convinced the court; the judgment of the lower court was overruled, and Nance was free.

After Lincoln's return from Congress in 1849, he was engaged in some of the most important cases of the day. One of these was a contest between the Illinois Central Railroad, at that time building, and McLean County, Illinois. This road had been exempted by the legislature from all state taxation on condition that it pay perpetually into the state treasury seven per cent. of its annual gross earnings. When the line was laid in McLean County the county authorities declared that the state legislature could not excuse the railroad company from paying county taxes; accordingly the company's property was assessed and a tax levied. If this claim of the county could be sustained, it was certain to kill the railroad; and great preparations were made for the defence. The solicitor of the Illinois Central at that time was General Mason Brayman, who retained Lincoln. The case was tried at Bloomington, before the Supreme Court, and, largely through the efforts of Lincoln, was won for the road. According to Herndon, Lincoln charged for his services a fee of two thousand dollars. Going to Chicago he presented his bill. "Why," said the officer to whom he applied, "this is as much as a first-class lawyer would have charged."

Stung by the ungrateful speech, Lincoln withdrew the bill, left the office, and at the first opportunity

LINCOLN'S OFFICE BOOK-CASE, CHAIR, AND INK STAND.

(In the Lincoln collection of Mr. William H. Lambert of Philadelphia, Pa.)

They formerly belonged to the Lincoln Memorial Collection of Chicago. Accompanying the ink stand is a letter saying that Mr. Lincoln wrote from it the famous "house-divided-against-itself" speech.

submitted the matter to his friends. Five thousand dollars, they all agreed, was a moderate fee, considering what he had done for the road, and six leading lawyers of the state signed a paper in which they declared that such a charge would not be "unreasonable." Lincoln then sued the road for that amount and won his case. "He gave me my half," says Herndon; "and as much as we deprecated the avarice of great corporations, we both thanked the Lord for letting the Illinois Central Railroad fall into our hands."

The current version of this story names General George B. McClellan as the testy official who snubbed Lincoln when he presented the bill. This could not have been. The incident occurred in 1855; that year Captain McClellan spent in the Crimea, as one of a commission of three sent abroad to study the European military service as displayed in the Crimean War. It was not until January, 1857, that McClellan resigned his commission in the United States army to become the chief engineer, and afterwards vice-president, of the Illinois Central Railroad. It was when an officer of the Illinois Central, however, that McClellan first met Lincoln. "Long before the war," he says, in "McClellan's Own Story," "when vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad, I knew Mr. Lincoln, for he was one of the counsel of the company. More than once I have been with him in out-of-the-way county-seats where some important case was being tried, and, in the lack of sleeping accommodations, have spent the night in front of a stove, listening to the unceasing flow of anecdotes from his lips.

He was never at a loss, and I could never quite make up my mind how many of them he had really heard before, and how many he invented on the spur of the moment. His stories were seldom refined, but were always to the point."

It was through his legal practice that Lincoln first met still another man who was to sustain a relation of the greatest importance to him in the war. This man was Edwin M. Stanton. The meeting occurred in Cincinnati in 1855 in connection with a patent case which is famous in the manufacturing history of the country, and in which both Lincoln and Stanton had been retained as counsel. So much that is false has been written of this meeting, that a full and exact statement of the circumstances was obtained for this work from Mr. George Harding of Philadelphia, the only one of the counsel in the case living when this book was written.

"Cyrus H. McCormick owned reaping-machine patents granted in 1845 and 1847," says Mr. Harding, "upon which he sued John M. Manny and Co. of Rockford, Illinois. Mr. Manny had obtained patents also. Manny and Co. were large manufacturers of reaping-machines under Manny's patents. McCormick contended that his patents were valid and secured to him a virtual monopoly of all practical reaping machines as constructed at that date. If McCormick had been successful in his contention, Manny would have been enjoined, his factory stopped, and a claim of four hundred thousand dollars damages demanded from his firm. McCormick's income from that monopoly would have been vastly increased. Hence the suit was very important to all parties and to the farming public. The plaintiff McCormick had retained Mr. E. N. Dickerson and Reverdy Johnson. The former was entrusted with the preparation of the

plaintiff's case and the argument before the court on the mechanics of the case. Mr. P. H. Watson, who had procured Manny's patents, was given by Manny the entire control of the defendant's case. He employed Mr. George Harding to prepare the defence for Manny and to argue the mechanics of the case before the court. In those times it was deemed important in patent cases to employ associate counsel not specially familiar with mechanical questions, but of high standing in the general practice of the law, and of recognized forensic ability. If such counsel represented the defendant he urged upon the court the importance of treating the patentee as a quasi-monopolist, whose claims should be limited to the precise mechanical contributions which he had made to the art; while, on the other hand, the plaintiff's forensic counsel was expected to dwell upon the privations and labor of the patentee, and insist on a very liberal view of his claims, and to hold that defendants who had appropriated any of his ideas should be treated as pirates. The necessity of the forensic contributions in the argument of patent cases is not now recognized.

"McCormick had selected Mr. Reverdy Johnson for the forensic part of his case. Mr. Watson was in doubt as to whom to select to perform this duty for the defendants. At the suggestion of Mr. Manny, Mr. Watson wrote to Mr. Lincoln, sending to him a retainer of five hundred dollars, and requesting him to read the testimony, which was sent to him from time to time as taken, so that if Mr. Watson afterward concluded to have him argue the case he would be prepared. Mr. Harding had urged the employment of Mr. Stanton, who was personally known to him, and who then resided at Pittsburg.

"With a view to determining finally who should argue the forensic part of Manny's case, Mr. Watson personally visited Springfield and conferred with Mr. Lincoln. On his way back from Springfield he called upon Mr. Stanton at Pittsburg, and, after a conference, retained Mr. Stanton, and informed him distinctly that he was to make the closing

argument in the case. Nevertheless Mr. Lincoln was sent copies of the testimony; he studied the testimony and was paid for so doing, the same as Mr. Stanton. Mr. Watson considered that it would be prudent for Mr. Lincoln to be prepared, in case of Mr. Stanton's inability, for any cause, to argue the case; so that, at the outset, Mr. Stanton was selected by Mr. Manny's direct representative to perform this duty.

"When all the parties and counsel met at Cincinnati, Mr. Lincoln was first definitely informed by Mr. Watson of his determination that Mr. Stanton was to close the case for defendants. Mr. Lincoln was evidently disappointed at Mr. Watson's decision. Mr. Lincoln had written out his argument in full. He was anxious to meet Mr. Reverdy Johnson in forensic contest. The case was important as to the amount in dispute, and of widespread interest to farmers. Mr. Lincoln's feelings were embittered, moreover, because the plaintiff's counsel subsequently, in open court, of their own motion, stated that they perceived that there were three counsel present for defendant, and that plaintiff had only two counsel present; but they were willing to allow all three of defendant's counsel to speak, provided Mr. Dickerson, who had charge of the mechanical part of McCormick's case, were permitted to make two arguments, besides Mr. Johnson's argument. Mr. Watson, who had charge of defendant's case, declined this offer, because the case ultimately depended upon mechanical questions; and he thought that if Mr. Dickerson were allowed to open the mechanical part of the case and then make a subsequent argument on the mechanics, the temptation would be great to make an insufficient or misleading mechanical opening of the case at first, and, after Mr. Harding had replied thereto, to make a fuller or different mechanical presentation, which could not be replied to by Mr. Harding. It was conceded that neither Mr. Lincoln nor Mr. Stanton was prepared to handle the mechanics of the case either in opening or reply. In view of these facts, Mr. Watson decided that only two arguments

would be made for Manny, and that Mr. Harding would open the case for defendant on the mechanical part, and Mr. Stanton would close on the general propositions of law applicable to the case. Mr. Stanton said in court that personally he had no desire to speak, but he agreed with Mr. Watson that only two arguments should be made for defendants whether he spoke or not. Mr. Lincoln, knowing Mr. Watson's wishes, insisted that Mr. Stanton should make the closing argument, and that he would not himself speak. Mr. Stanton accepted the position and did speak, because he knew that such was the expressed wish and direction of Mr. Watson, who controlled the conduct of defendant's case.

"Mr. Lincoln kindly and gracefully, but regretfully, accepted the situation. He attended and exhibited much interest in the case as it proceeded. He sent to Mr. Harding the written argument which he had prepared, that he might have the benefit of it before he made his opening argument; but requested Mr. Harding not to show it to Mr. Stanton. The chagrin of Mr. Lincoln at not speaking continued, however, and he felt that Mr. Stanton should have insisted on his, Mr. Lincoln's, speaking also; while Mr. Stanton merely carried out the positive direction of his client that there should be only two arguments for defendant, and that he, Mr. Stanton, should close the case, and Mr. Harding should open the case. Mr. Lincoln expressed to Mr. Harding satisfaction at the manner in which the mechanical part of the case had been presented by him, and after Mr. Lincoln had been elected President, he showed his recollection of it by tendering Mr. Harding, of his own motion, a high position.

"In regard to the personal treatment of Mr. Lincoln while in attendance at Cincinnati, it is to be borne in mind that Mr. Lincoln was known to hardly any one in Cincinnati at that date, and that Mr. Stanton was probably not impressed with the appearance of Mr. Lincoln. It is true there was no personal intimacy formed between them while at Cincinnati. Mr. Lincoln was disappointed and unhappy while in Cincinnati, and undoubtedly did not receive the attention

which he should have received. Mr. Lincoln felt all this, and particularly, but unjustly, reflected upon Mr. Stanton as the main cause. When Mr. Lincoln was nominated for President, Mr. Stanton, like many others in the country, sincerely doubted whether Mr. Lincoln was equal to the tremendous responsibility which he was to be called upon to assume as President. This is to be borne in mind, in view of events subsequent to the case at Cincinnati. Mr. Stanton never called upon Mr. Lincoln after he came to Washington as President. Mr. Lincoln in alluding to Mr. Stanton (both before and after his election as President) did not attempt to conceal his unkind feeling towards him, which had its origin at Cincinnati. This feeling did not undergo a change until after he met Mr. Stanton as Secretary of War.

"The occurrences narrated show how one great man may underrate his fellow man. Mr. Stanton saw at Cincinnati in Mr. Lincoln only his gaunt, rugged features, his awkward dress and carriage, and heard only his rural jokes; but Stanton lived to perceive in those rugged lineaments only expressions of nobility and loveliness of character, and to hear from his lips only wisdom, prudence, and courage, couched in language unsurpassed in literature. But above all they show the nobility of Mr. Lincoln's character in forgetting all unkind personal feeling engendered at Cincinnati towards Mr. Stanton, and subsequently appointing him his Secretary of War.

"The above was narrated by Mr. Harding for the main purpose of correcting the popular impression that Mr. Stanton, of his own motion, rode over and displaced Mr. Lincoln in the case at Cincinnati; for the truth is that Mr. Stanton, in the course he pursued, was directed by his clients' representative, Mr. Watson, who believed that he was serving the best interests of his clients."

Lincoln was first suggested to Mr. Manny as counsel in this case by a younger member of the firm, Mr. Ralph Emerson, of Rockford, Illinois. Mr. Emer-

son, as a student of law, had been thrown much into Lincoln's company and had learned to respect his judgment and ability. Indeed, it was Lincoln who was instrumental in deciding him to abandon the law. The young man had seen much in the practice of his chosen profession which seemed to him unjust, and he had begun to feel that the law was incompatible with his ideals. One evening, after a particularly trying day in court, he walked out with Lincoln. Suddenly turning to his companion, he said: "Mr. Lincoln, I want to ask you a question. Is it possible for a man to practice law and always do by others as he would be done by?" Lincoln's head dropped on his breast, and he walked in silence for a long way; then he heaved a heavy sigh. When he finally spoke, it was of a foreign matter. "I had my answer," said Mr. Emerson, "and that walk turned the course of my life."

During the trial at Cincinnati, Lincoln and Mr. Emerson were thrown much together, and Mr. Emerson's recollections are particularly interesting.

"As I was the sole intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln in the case, when it was decided that he should not take part in the argument, he invited me to his room to express his bitter disappointment; and it was with difficulty that I persuaded him to remain as counsel during the hearing. We generally spent the afternoons together. The hearing had hardly progressed two days before Mr. Lincoln expressed to me his satisfaction that he was not to take part in the argument. So many and so deep were the questions involved that he realized he had not given the subject sufficient study to have done himself justice.

"The court-room, which during the first day or two was

well filled, greatly thinned out as the argument proceeded day after day. But as the crowd diminished, Mr. Lincoln's interest in the case increased. He appeared entirely to forget himself, and at times, rising from his chair, walked back and forth in the open space of the court-room, as though he were in his own office, pausing to listen intently as one point after another was clearly made out in our favor. He manifested such delight in countenance and unconscious action that its effect on the judges, one of whom at least already highly respected him, was evidently stronger than any set speech of his could possibly have been. The impression produced on the judges was evidently that Mr. Lincoln was thoroughly convinced of the justice of our side and anxious that we should prevail, not merely on account of his interest in his clients, but because he thought our case was just and should triumph.

"The final summing up on our side was by Mr. Stanton; and though he took but about three hours in its delivery, he had devoted as many, if not more, weeks to its preparation. It was very able, and Mr. Lincoln was throughout the whole of it a rapt listener. Mr. Stanton closed his speech in a flight of impassioned eloquence. Then the court adjourned for the day, and Mr. Lincoln invited me to take a long walk with him. For block after block he walked rapidly forward, not saying a word, evidently deeply dejected.

"At last he turned suddenly to me, exclaiming, 'Emerson, I am going home.' A pause. 'I am going home to study law.'

" 'Why,' I exclaimed, 'Mr. Lincoln, you stand at the head of the bar in Illinois now! What are you talking about?'

" 'Ah, yes,' he said, 'I do occupy a good position there, and I think that I can get along with the way things are done there now. But these college-trained men, who have devoted their whole lives to study, are coming West, don't you see? And they study their cases as we never do. They have got as far as Cincinnati now. They will soon be in Illinois.' Another long pause; then stopping and turning

toward me, his countenance suddenly assuming that look of strong determination which those who knew him best sometimes saw upon his face, he exclaimed, 'I am going home to study law! I am as good as any of them, and when they get out to Illinois I will be ready for them.'"

The fee which Lincoln received in the McCormick case, including the retainer, which was five hundred dollars—the largest retainer ever received by Lincoln—amounted to nearly two thousand dollars. Except the sum paid him by the Illinois Central Railroad it was probably the largest fee he ever received. The two sums came to him about the same time and undoubtedly helped to tide over the rather unfruitful period, from a financial standpoint which followed—the period of his contest with Douglas for the Senate. Lincoln never made money. From 1850 to 1860 his income averaged from two thousand to three thousand dollars a year. In the forties it was considerably less. The fee-book of Lincoln and Herndon for 1847 shows total earnings of only fifteen hundred dollars. The largest fee entered was one of one hundred dollars. There are several of fifty dollars, a number of twenty, more of ten, still more of five, and a few of three dollars.

But Lincoln's fees were as a rule smaller than his clients expected or his fellow lawyers approved of. Mr. Abraham Brokaw of Bloomington, Illinois, tells the following story illustrating Lincoln's idea of a proper fee. One of Mr. Brokaw's neighbors had borrowed about $500 from him and given his note. When it became due the man refused to pay. Action was brought, and the sheriff levied on the property

of the debtor and finally collected the entire debt; but at about that time the sheriff was in need of funds and used the money collected. When Brokaw demanded it from him he was unable to pay it and was found to be insolvent. Thereupon Brokaw employed Stephen A. Douglas to sue the sureties on the official bond of the sheriff. Douglas brought the suit and soon collected the claim. But Douglas was at that time in the midst of a campaign for Congress and the funds were used by him with the expectation of being able to pay Brokaw later. However, he neglected the matter and went to Washington without making any settlement. Brokaw, although a life-long and ardent Democrat and a great admirer of Douglas, was a thrifty German and did not propose to lose sight of his money. After fruitlessly demanding the money from Douglas, Brokaw went to David Davis, then in general practice at Bloomington, told him the circumstances and asked him to undertake the collection of the money from Douglas. Davis protested that he could not do it, that Douglas was a personal friend and a brother lawyer and Democrat and it would be very disagreeable for him to have anything to do with the matter. He finally said to Brokaw, "You wait until the next term of court and Lincoln will be here. He would like nothing better than to have this claim for collection. I will introduce you to him and I have no doubt he will undertake it." Shortly after, Brokaw was presented to Lincoln, stated his case and engaged his services. Lincoln promptly wrote Douglas, still at Washington, that he had the claim for collection and that he must insist upon prompt payment. Douglas,

very indignant, wrote directly to Brokaw that he thought the placing of the claim in Lincoln's hands a gross outrage, that he and Brokaw were old friends and Democrats and that Brokaw ought not to place any such weapon in the hands of such an Abolitionist opponent as Lincoln and if he could not wait until Douglas returned he should at least have placed the claim for collection in the hands of a Democrat. Brokaw's thrift again controlled and he sent Douglas' letter to Lincoln. Thereupon Lincoln placed the claim in the hands of "Long" John Wentworth, then a Democratic member of Congress from Chicago. Wentworth called upon Douglas and insisted upon payment, which shortly after was made, and Brokaw at last received his money. "And what do you suppose Lincoln charged me?" Brokaw says in telling the story. After hearing a few guesses he answered, "He charged me exactly $3.50 for collecting nearly $600."

Such charges were felt by the lawyers of the Eighth Circuit, with some reason, to be purely quixotic. They protested and argued, but Lincoln went on serenely charging what he thought his services worth. Ward Lamon who was one of Lincoln's numerous circuit partners says that he and Lincoln frequently fell out on the matter of fees. On one occasion Lamon was particularly incensed. He had charged and received a good-sized fee for a case which the two had tried together and won. When Lamon offered Lincoln his share he refused it. The fee was too large, he said, part of it must be refunded and he would not accept a cent until that had been done. Judge Davis

heard of this transaction. He was himself a shrewd money-maker, never hesitating to take all he could legally get, and he felt strong disgust at this disinterested attitude about money. Calling Lincoln to him the judge scolded roundly. "You are pauperizing this court, Mr. Lincoln, you are ruining your fellows. Unless you quit this ridiculous policy, we shall all have to go to farming." But not even the ire of the bench moved Lincoln.

If a fee was not paid, Lincoln did not believe in suing for it. Mr. Herndon says that he would consent to be swindled before he would contest a fee. The case of the Illinois Central Railroad, however, was an exception to this rule. He was careless in accounts, never entering anything on the book. When a fee was paid to him, he simply divided the money into two parts, one of which he put into his pocket, and the other into an envelope which he labelled "Herndon's half." Lincoln's whole theory of the conduct of a lawyer in regard to money is summed up in the "notes" for a law lecture which he left among his papers:

"The matter of fees is important, far beyond the mere question of bread and butter involved. Properly attended to, fuller justice is done to both lawyer and client. An exorbitant fee should never be claimed. As a general rule never take your whole fee in advance, nor any more than a small retainer. When fully paid beforehand, you are more than a common mortal if you can feel the same interest in the case, as if something was still in prospect for you, as well as for your client. And when you lack interest in the case the job will very likely lack skill and diligence in the performance. Settle the amount of fee and take a note in advance.

Then you will feel that you are working for something, and you are sure to do your work faithfully and well. Never sell a fee note—at least not before the consideration service is performed. It leads to negligence and dishonesty—negligence by losing interest in the case, and dishonesty in refusing to refund when you have allowed the consideration to fail."

If a client was poor, and Lincoln's sympathies were aroused, he not infrequently refused pay. There are a few well authenticated cases of his offering his services to those whom he believed he could help, stipulating when he did it that he would make no charge. The best known example of this is the Armstrong murder case.

William, or "Duff" Armstrong, as he was generally called, was the son of Lincoln's New Salem friends, Jack and Hannah Armstrong. In August, 1857, Duff and a number of his mates had joined a crowd of ruffians who had gathered on the outskirts of a camp-meeting held near Havana, in Macon County. He had drunk heavily for some days, and, finally, in a broil on the night of August 29, had beaten a comrade, one Metzker, who had provoked him to a fight. That same night Metzker was hit with an ox-yoke by another drunken reveller, Norris by name. Three days later he died. Both Armstrong and Norris were arrested. Marks of two blows were on the victim, either of which might have killed him. That Norris had dealt one was proved. Did Armstrong deal the other? He claimed he had used nothing but his fists in the broil; but both the marks on Metzker were such as must have been made by some instrument. The

theory was developed that one blow was from a slung-shot used by Armstrong, and that he and Norris had acted in concert, deliberately planning to murder Metzker. Outraged by the cruelty of the deed, the whole countryside demanded the punishment of the prisoners. Just at the time that Armstrong was thrown into prison his father died, his last charge to his wife Hannah being, "Sell everything you have and clear Duff." True to her trust, Hannah engaged two Havana lawyers, both living when this book was written, to defend her boy. Anxious lest the violence of public feeling should injure Duff's chances, the lawyers secured a change of venue to Cass County, their client remaining in prison until spring. Norris, in the meantime, was convicted and sentenced to eight years in the penitentiary.

When Lincoln heard of the arrest of Duff Armstrong he at once wrote his mother:

"Dear Mrs. Armstrong: I have just heard of your deep affliction, and the arrest of your son for murder. I can hardly believe that he can be capable of the crime alleged against him. It does not seem possible. I am anxious that he should be given a fair trial at any rate; and gratitude for your long-continued kindness to me in adverse circumstances prompts me to offer my humble services gratuitously in his behalf.

"It will afford me an opportunity to requite, in a small degree, the favors I received at your hand, and that of your lamented husband, when your roof afforded me a grateful shelter, without money and without price."

The trial came off in May, 1858, at Beardstown, and Lincoln was on hand. At that moment he was,

after Stephen A. Douglas, the most conspicuous man in Illinois. His future course in politics was a source of interest both in the East and West. The coming contest with Douglas for the senatorship—for it was already probable that he would be the candidate in the convention which was only a month away—was causing him intense anxiety. Yet occupied as he was with his profession and harassed by the critical political situation, he did not hesitate to keep the promise that he had made nine months before to Hannah Armstrong. Going to her lawyers, he said that he should like to assist them. They asked nothing better than to have his aid. He seems to have taken full charge at the start. His first care was the selection of a jury. Not knowing the neighborhood well, he could not discriminate closely as to individuals; but he took pains, as far as he could control the choice, to have only young men chosen, believing that they would be more favorable to the prisoner. A surviving witness in the case estimates that the average age of the jury was not over twenty-three years.

The jury empanelled, the examination of witnesses on behalf of the defence seems to have been conducted chiefly by Lincoln. Many of the witnesses bore familiar names. Some were sons of "Clary's Grove Boys," and Lincoln had known their fathers. "The witnesses were kept out of the court-room until called to testify," says William A. Douglas. "I happened to be the first witness called, and so heard the whole trial. When William Killian was called to the stand, Lincoln asked him his name.

" 'William Killian,' was the reply.

" 'Bill Killian,' Lincoln repeated in a familiar way; 'tell me, are you a son of old Jake Killian?'

" 'Yes, sir,' answered the witness.

" 'Well,' said Lincoln, somewhat aside, 'you are a smart boy if you take after your dad.' "

As the trial developed it became evident that there could have been no collusion between Armstrong and Norris, but there was strong evidence that Armstrong had used a slung-shot. The most damaging evidence was that of one Allen, who swore that he had seen Armstrong strike Metzker about ten or eleven o'clock in the evening. When asked how he could see, he answered that the moon shone brightly. Under Lincoln's questioning he repeated the statement until it was impressed on the jury. If Allen's testimony stood, conviction seemed certain.

Lincoln's address to the jury was full of genuine pathos. It was not as a hired attorney that he was there, he said, but to discharge a debt of friendship. "Uncle Abe," says Duff Armstrong himself, "did his best talking when he told the jury what true friends my father and mother had been to him in the early days. . . . He told how he used to go out to 'Jack' Armstrong's and stay for days; how kind mother was to him; and how, many a time, he had rocked me to sleep in the old cradle."

But Lincoln was not relying on sympathy alone to win his case. In closing he reviewed the evidence, showing that all depended on Allen's testimony, and this he said he could prove to be false. Allen never saw Armstrong strike Metzker by the light of the moon, for at the hour when he said he saw the fight,

between ten and eleven o'clock, the moon was not in the heavens. Then producing an almanac, he passed it to the judge and jury. The moon, which was on that night in its first quarter, had set before midnight. This unexpected overthrow of the testimony by which Lincoln had taken care that the jury should be most deeply impressed, threw them into confusion. There was a complete change of feeling. Lincoln saw it; and as he finished his address, and the jury left the room, turning to the boy's mother, he said, "Aunt Hannah, your son will be free before sundown."

Lincoln had not misread his jury. Duff Armstrong was discharged as not guilty.

There has long been a story current that the dramatic introduction of the almanac, by which certainly the audience and the jury were won, was a piece of trickery on Lincoln's part; that the almanac was not one of 1857, but of 1853, in which the figure three had been changed throughout to seven. The best reply to this charge of forgery is the very evident one that it was utterly unnecessary. The almanac for August, 1857, shows that the moon was in the position where it served Lincoln's client's interests best. He did not need to forge an almanac, the one of the period being all that he could want.

Another murder case in which Lincoln defended the accused occurred in August, 1859. The victim was a student in his own law office, Greek Crafton. The murderer, Peachy Harrison, was the grandson of Lincoln's old political antagonist, Peter Cartwright. Both young men were connected with the best families of the county; the brother of one was

married to the sister of the other; they had been life-long friends. In an altercation upon some political question hot words were exchanged, and Harrison, beside himself, stabbed Crafton, who three days later died from the wound. The best known lawyers of the state were engaged for the case. Senator John M. Palmer and General A. McClernand were on the side of the prosecution. Among those who represented the defendant were Lincoln, Herndon, Logan, and Senator Shelby M. Cullom. The tragic pathos of a case which involved, as this did, the deepest affections of almost an entire community, reached its climax in the appearance in court of the venerable Peter Cartwright. No face in Illinois was better known than his, no life had been spent in a more relentless war on evil. Eccentric and aggressive as he was, he was honored far and wide; and when he arose in the witness stand, his white hairs crowned with this cruel sorrow, the most indifferent spectator felt that his examination would be unbearable. It fell to Lincoln to question Cartwright. With the rarest gentleness he began to put his questions.

"How long have you known the prisoner?"

Cartwright's head dropped on his breast for a moment; then straightening himself, he passed his hand across his eyes and answered in a deep, quavering voice:

"I have known him since a babe, he laughed and cried on my knee."

The examination ended by Lincoln drawing from the witness the story of how Crafton had said to him, just before his death: "I am dying; I will soon part

with all I love on earth, and I want you to say to my slayer that I forgive him. I want to leave this earth with a forgiveness of all who have in any way injured me."

This examination made a profound impression on the jury. Lincoln closed his argument by picturing the scene anew, appealing to the jury to practice the same forgiving spirit that the murdered man had shown on his death-bed. It was undoubtedly to his handling of the grandfather's evidence that Harrison's acquittal was due.

A class of legal work which Lincoln enjoyed particularly was that in which mathematical or mechanical problems were involved. He never lost interest in his youthful pot-boiling profession of surveying, and would go out himself to make sure of boundaries if a client's case required particular investigation. Indeed, he was generally recognized by his fellow lawyers as an authority on surveying, and as late as 1859 his opinion on a disputed question was sought by a convention of surveyors who had met in Springfield. One of the most interesting cases involving mechanical problems which Lincoln ever argued was that of the Rock Island Bridge. It was not, however, the calculations he used which made it striking. The case was a dramatic episode in the war long waged by the Mississippi against the plains beyond. For decades the river had been the willing burden-bearer of the West. Now, however, the railroad had come. The Rock Island Railroad had even dared to bridge the stream to carry away the traffic which the river claimed.

In May, 1856, a steamboat struck one of the piers of the bridge and was wrecked and burned. One pier of the bridge was also destroyed. The boat owners sued the railroad company. The suit was the beginning of the long and violent struggle for commercial supremacy between St. Louis and Chicago. In Chicago it was commonly charged that the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce had bribed the captain of the boat to run upon the pier; and it was said that later, when the bridge itself was burned, the steamers gathered near and whistled for joy. The case was felt to involve the future course of western commerce; and when it was called in September, 1857, at Chicago, people crowded there from all over the West. Norman B. Judd, afterwards so prominent in the politics of the state, was the attorney of the road, and he engaged Lincoln, among others, as counsel. Lincoln made an address to the jury which those who remember it declare to have been one of his strongest legal arguments.

"The two points relied upon by the opponents of the bridge," says Judge Blodgett of Chicago, "were:

"First. That the river was the great waterway for the commerce of the valley, and could not legally be obstructed by a bridge.

"Second. That this particular bridge was so located with reference to the channel of the river at that point as to make it a peril to all water craft navigating the river and an unnecessary obstruction to navigation.

"The first proposition had not at that time been directly passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States, although the Wheeling Bridge case involved the question; but the court had evaded a decision upon it, by holding that

the Wheeling Bridge was so low as to be an unnecessary obstruction to the use of the river by steamboats. The discussion of the first proposition on the part of the bridge company devolved mainly upon Mr. Abraham Lincoln.

"I listened with much interest to his argument on this point, and while I was not impressed by it as a specially eloquent effort (as the word eloquent is generally understood), I have always considered it as one of the ablest efforts I ever heard from Mr. Lincoln at the bar. His illustrations were apt and forcible, his statements clear and logical, and his reasons in favor of the policy (and necessarily the right) to bridge the river, and thereby encourage the settlement and building up of the vast area of fertile country to the west of it, were broad and statesmanlike.

"The pith of his argument was in his statement that *one man had as good a right to cross a river as another had to sail up or down it;* that these were equal and mutual rights which must be exercised so as not to interfere with each other, like the right to cross a street or highway and the right to pass along it. From this undeniable right to cross the river he then proceeded to discuss the means for crossing. Must it always be by canoe or ferryboat? Must the products of all the boundless fertile country lying west of the river for all time be compelled to stop on its western bank, be unloaded from the cars and loaded upon a boat, and after the transit across the river, be reloaded into cars on the other side, to continue their journey East? In this connection he drew a vivid picture of the future of the great West lying beyond the river, and argued that the necessities of commerce demanded that the bridges across the river be a conceded right, which the steamboat interests ought not to be allowed to successfully resist, and thereby stay the progress of development and civilization in the region of the West.

"While I cannot recall a word or sentence of the argument, I well remember its effect on all who listened to it, and the decision of the court fully sustained the right to

bridge so long as it did not unnecessarily obstruct navigation."

All the papers in regard to the trial are supposed to have been burned in the Chicago fire of 1871, but the speech, which was reported by Congressman Hitt of Illinois, at that time court stenographer, was published on September 24, 1857, in the Chicago "Daily Press," afterwards united with the "Tribune."

According to this report the first part of the speech was devoted to the points Judge Blodgett outlines; the second part was given to a careful explanation of the currents of the Mississippi at the point where the bridge crossed. Lincoln succeeded in showing that had the pilot of the boat been as familiar as he ought to have been with the river, he could easily have prevented the accident. His argument was full of nice mathematical calculations clearly put, and was marked by perfect candor. Indeed, the honesty with which he admitted the points made by the opposite counsel caused considerable alarm to some of his associates. Mrs. Norman B. Judd (Mr. Judd was the attorney of the road) says that Mr. Joseph B. Knox, who was also engaged with Mr. Lincoln in the defence, dined at her house the day that Lincoln made his speech. "He sat down at the dinner table in great excitement," writes Mrs. Judd, "saying, 'Lincoln has lost the case for us. The admissions he made in regard to the currents in the Mississippi at Rock Island and Moline will convince the court that a bridge at that point will always be a serious and constant detriment to navigation on the river.' 'Wait until you hear the conclusion of his speech,' replied Mr. Judd;

'you will find his admission is a strong point instead of a weak one, and on it he will found a strong argument that will satisfy you.' " And as it proved, Mr. Judd was right.

The few cases briefly outlined here show something of the range of Lincoln's legal work. They show that not only his friends like Hannah Armstrong believed in his power with a jury, but that great corporations like the Illinois Central Railroad were willing to trust their affairs in his hands; that he was not only a "jury lawyer," as has been often stated, but trusted when it came to questions of law pure and simple. If this study of his cases were continued, it would only be to accumulate evidence to prove that Lincoln was considered by his contemporaries one of the best lawyers of Illinois.

It is worth notice, too, that he made his reputation as a lawyer and tried his greatest cases *before* his debate with Douglas gave him a national reputation. It was in 1855 that the Illinois Central engaged him first as counsel; in 1855 that he went to Cincinnati on the McCormick case; in 1857 that he tried the Rock Island Bridge case. Thus his place was won purely on his legal ability unaided by political prestige. His success came, too, in middle life. Lincoln was forty years old in 1849, when he abandoned politics definitely, as he thought, for the law. He tried his greatest cases when he was from forty-five to forty-eight.

CHAPTER XVII

LINCOLN RE-ENTERS POLITICS

From 1849 to 1854 Abraham Lincoln gave almost his entire time to his profession. Politics received from him only the attention which any public-spirited citizen without personal ambition should give. He kept close watch upon Federal, state and local affairs. He was active in the efforts made in Illinois in 1851 to secure a more thorough party organization. In 1852 he was on the Scott electoral ticket and did some canvassing. But this was all. He was yearly becoming more absorbed in his legal work, losing more and more of his old inclination for politics, when in May, 1854, the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before in all his life. The Missouri Compromise was the second in that series of noble provisions for making new territory free territory, which liberty-loving men had wrested from the United States Congress, whenever the thirst for expansion had seized this country. The first of these was the "Ordinance of 1787," prohibiting slavery in all the great Northwest Territory. The second the Missouri Compromise, passed in 1820, was the result of a struggle to keep the Louisiana Purchase free. It provided that Missouri might come in as a slave state if slavery was never allowed north of 36° 30′ north latitude. The next great expansion of the United States after the Louisiana Purchase resulted

from the annexation of Texas, and of the territory acquired by the Mexican War. The North was determined that this new territory should be free. The South wanted it for slaves. The struggle between them threatened the Union for a time, but it was adjusted by the Compromise of 1850, in which, according to Mr. Lincoln's summing up, "the South got their new fugitive-slave law, and the North got California (by far the best part of our acquisition from Mexico) as a free state. The South got a provision that New Mexico and Utah, when admitted as states, may come in with or without slavery, as they may then choose; and the North got the slave-trade abolished in the District of Columbia. The North got the western boundary of Texas thrown farther back eastward than the South desired; but, in turn, they gave Texas ten millions of dollars with which to pay her old debts."

For three years matters were quiet. Then Nebraska sought territorial organization. Now by the Missouri Compromise slavery was forbidden in that section of the Union, but in spite of this fact, Stephen A. Douglas, then a member of the United States Senate, added to a bill which he had introduced giving Kansas and Nebraska the state governments they desired, an amendment repealing the Missouri Compromise, permitting the people who should settle in the new territories to reject or establish slavery as they should see fit. It was the passage of this bill which brought Abraham Lincoln from the court-room to the stump. His friend Richard Yates was running for re-election to Congress. Lincoln began to speak

for him, but in accepting invitations he stipulated that it should be against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill that he talk. His earnestness surprised his friends. Lincoln was coming back into politics, they said, and when Douglas, the author of the repeal, was announced to speak in Springfield in October of 1854, they called on Lincoln to meet him.

Douglas was having a serious struggle to reconcile his Illinois constituency. All the free sentiment of the state had been bitterly aroused by his part in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and when he first returned to Illinois it looked as if he would not be given even a hearing. Indeed, when he first attempted to speak in Chicago, September 1, he was hooted from the platform. With every day in the state, however, he won back his friends, so great was his power over men, and he was beginning to arouse something of his old enthusiasm when he went to Springfield to speak at the annual State Fair. There was a great crowd present from all parts of the state, and Douglas spoke for three hours. When he closed it was announced that Lincoln would answer him the next day. Lincoln's friends expected him to do well in his reply, but his speech was a surprise even to those who knew him best. It was profound, finished, vigorous, eloquent. When had he mastered the history of the slavery question so completely? they asked each other. "The anti-Nebraska speech of Mr. Lincoln," said the "Springfield Journal" the next day, "was the profoundest, in our opinion, that he has made in his whole life. He felt upon his soul the truths burn which he uttered, and all present felt that

he was true to his own soul. His feelings once or twice swelled within and came near stifling utterance. He quivered with emotion. The whole house was as still as death. He attacked the Nebraska Bill with unusual warmth and energy; and all felt that a man of strength was its enemy, and that he intended to blast it if he could by strong and manly efforts. He was most successful, and the house approved the glorious triumph of truth by loud and continued huzzas."

The vigor and earnestness of Lincoln's speech aroused the crowd to such enthusiasm that Senator Douglas felt obliged to reply to him the next day. These speeches of October 3, 4 and 5, 1854, form really the first of the series of Lincoln-Douglas Debates. They proved conclusively to the anti-Nebraska politicians in Illinois that Lincoln was to be their leader in the fight they had begun against the extension of slavery.

Although the speech of October 4 was not preserved, we know from Paul Selby, at that time editor of an independent paper in Jacksonville, Illinois, which had been working hard against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, that Lincoln's speech at Springfield was practically the same as one delivered twelve days later at Peoria in reply to Douglas. Of this latter a full report was preserved.

In his reply at Peoria, Lincoln began by a brief but sufficient résumé of the efforts of the North to apply the Declaration of Independence to all new territory which it acquired, and failing in that to provide for the sake of peace a series of compromises

reserving as much territory as possible to freedom. He showed that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was a direct violation of one of the greatest of these solemn compromises. This he declared was "wrong." "Wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it. This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real zeal, for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest."

Disavowing all "prejudice against the Southern people," he generously declared:

"They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. . . . I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that

whatever of high hope . . . there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days, and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. . . . I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate, yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. . . . It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South. . . . The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them into Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle, and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter."

Taking up the arguments by which the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was justified, he answered them one by one with clearness and a great array of facts. The chief of these arguments was that the repeal was in the interest of the "sacred right of self-government" that the people of Nebraska had a right to govern themselves as they chose, voting for or against slavery as they pleased.

"The doctrine of self-government is right," Lincoln said, "absolutely and eternally right, but it has no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such application depends upon whether a negro is not or is a man. If he is not a man, in that case he who is a man may as a matter of self-government do just what he pleases with him. But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he too shall not govern himself? When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more

than self-government—that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that 'all men are created equal,' and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another.

"Judge Douglas frequently, with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying: 'The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!'

"Well! I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American republicanism."

This Peoria speech, which is very long, is particularly interesting to students of Mr. Lincoln's speeches, because in it is found the germ of many of the arguments which he elaborated in the next six years and used with tremendous effect.

With the Peoria speech Douglas had had enough of Lincoln as an antagonist, and he made a compact with him that neither should speak again in the campaign. It was characteristic of Douglas that on his way to Chicago he should stop and deliver a speech at Princeton!

But though Lincoln had temporarily withdrawn from the stump he was by no means abandoning the struggle. The iniquity of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill grew greater to him every day. He meant to fight it to the end and he wanted to go where he could fight it directly. He became a candidate for the General Assembly of Illinois from Sangamon County and was

elected by a large majority in November. A little later he saw an opportunity for a larger position. Although Illinois was strongly Democratic, the revolt against the Nebraska Bill had driven from the party a number of men, members of the Legislature who had signified their determination to vote only for an anti-Nebraska Senator. This gave the Whigs a chance, and several candidates offered themselves—among them Lincoln. Resigning from the Legislature (members of the Legislature could not become candidates for the senatorship), he began his electioneering in the frank western style of those days by requesting his friends to support him, usually writing them characteristic letters.

"I have really got it into my head to try to be United States Senator," he wrote his friend Gillespie, "and, if I could have your support, my chances would be reasonably good. But I know and acknowledge that you have as just claims to the place as I have; and therefore I cannot ask you to yield to me, if you are thinking of becoming a candidate yourself. If, however, you are not, then I should like to be remembered affectionately by you; and also to have you make a mark for me with the anti-Nebraskan members, down your way."

He sent a large number of similar letters to friends, and by the first of January, when the Legislature reassembled, he felt his chances of election were good. "I have more committals than any other man," he wrote his friend Washburne. Nevertheless he failed of the election. Just how he explained to Washburne early in February:

"I began with 44 votes, Shields (Democratic) 41, and Trumbull (Anti-Nebraska) 5,—yet Trumbull was elected. In fact, 47 different members voted for me,—getting three new ones on the second ballot, and losing four old ones. How came my 47 to yield to Trumbull's 5? It was Governor Matteson's work. He has been secretly a candidate ever since (before, even) the fall election. All the members round about the canal were Anti-Nebraska, but were nevertheless nearly all Democrats and old personal friends of his. His plan was to privately impress them with the belief that he was as good Anti-Nebraska as any one else—at least could be secured to be so by instructions, which could be easily passed.

"The Nebraska men, of course, were not for Matteson; but when they found they could elect no avowed Nebraska man, they tardily determined to let him get whomever of our men he could, by whatever means he could, and ask him no questions. . . . The Nebraska men were very confident of the election of Matteson, though denying that he was a candidate, and we very much believing also that they would elect him. But they wanted first to make a show of good faith to Shields by voting for him a few times, and our secret Matteson men also wanted to make a show of good faith by voting with us a few times. So we led off. On the seventh ballot, I think, the signal was given to the Nebraska men to turn to Matteson, which they acted on to a man, with one exception. . . . Next ballot the remaining Nebraska man and one pretended Anti went over to him, giving him 46. The next still another, giving him 47, wanting only three of an election. In the meantime our friends, with a view of detaining our expected bolters, had been turning from me to Trumbull till he had risen to 35 and I had been reduced to 15. These would never desert me except by my direction; but I became satisfied that if we could prevent Matteson's election one or two ballots more, we could not possibly do so a single ballot after my friends should begin to return to me from Trumbull. So I determined to strike

at once, and accordingly advised my remaining friends to go for him, which they did and elected him on the tenth ballot.

"Such is the way the thing was done. I think you would have done the same under the circumstances. . . . I could have headed off every combination and been elected, had it not been for Matteson's double game—and his defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole, it is perhaps as well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected. The Nebraska men confess that they hate it worse than anything that could have happened. It is a great consolation to see them worse whipped than I am."

Not only had Lincoln made the leading orator of the Nebraska cause cry enough, he had by his quick wit and his devotion to the cause secured an Anti-Nebraska Senator for the state.

Although for the time being campaigning was over, Lincoln by no means dropped the subject. The struggle between North and South over the settlement of Kansas grew every day more bitter. Violence was beginning, and it was evident that if the people of the new territory should vote to make the state free it would be impossible to enforce the decision without bloodshed. Lincoln watched the developments with a growing determination never to submit to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He would advocate its restoration so long as Kansas remained a territory, and if it ever sought to enter the Union as a slave state he would oppose it. He discussed the subject incessantly with his friends as he travelled the circuit; and wrestled with it day and night in solitude. A new conviction was gradually growing upon him. He had long held that slavery

was wrong but that it would not be touched in the state where it was recognized by the Constitution; all that the free states could require, in his judgment, was that no new territory should be opened to slavery. He held that all compromises adjusting difficulties between the North and South on the slavery question were as sacred as the Constitution. Now he saw the most important of them all violated. Was it possible to devise a compromise which would settle forever the conflicting interests? He turned over the question continually. Judge T. Lyle Dickey of Illinois once told the Hon. William Pitt Kellogg that when the excitement over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill first broke out, he was with Lincoln and several friends attending court. One evening several persons, including himself and Lincoln, were discussing the slavery question. Judge Dickey contended that slavery was an institution, which the Constitution recognized, and which could not be disturbed. Lincoln argued that ultimately slavery must become extinct. "After a while," said Judge Dickey, "we went upstairs to bed. There were two beds in our room, and I remember that Lincoln sat up in his night shirt on the edge of the bed arguing the point with me. At last, we went to sleep. Early in the morning I woke up and there was Lincoln half sitting up in bed. 'Dickey,' he said, 'I tell you this nation cannot exist half slave and half free.' 'Oh, Lincoln,' said I, 'go to sleep.' "

As the months went on this idea took deeper root, and in August, 1855, we find it expressed in a letter to George Robertson of Kentucky: "Our political problem now is, 'Can we as a nation continue together

permanently—forever—half slave and half free?' The problem is too mighty for me—may God, in His mercy, superintend the solution."

Not only was he beginning to see that the Union could not exist "divided against itself," he was beginning to see that in order to fight effectively against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the admission of Kansas as a slave state, he might be obliged to abandon the Whigs. All his life he had been a loyal Henry Clay Whig, ardent in his devotion to the party, sincerely attached to its principles. His friends were of that party, and never had a man's party friends been more willing than his to aid his ambition. But the Whigs were afraid of the Anti-Nebraska agitation. Was he being forced from his party? He hardly knew. "I think I am a Whig," he wrote his friend Speed, who had inquired where he stood, "but others say there are no Whigs and that I am an Abolitionist." This was in August, 1855. The events of the next few months showed him that he must stand by the body of men of all parties—Whig, Democratic, Abolition, Free Soil—who opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and were slowly uniting into the new Republican Party to fight it.

The first decisive step to organize these elements in Illinois was an editorial convention held on February 22, 1856, at Decatur. One of the editors interested, Paul Selby, relates the history of the convention in an heretofore unpublished manuscript on the "Formation of the Republican Party in Illinois," from which the following account is quoted:

"This movement, first suggested by 'The Morgan Journal' at Jacksonville, having received the approval of a considerable number of the Anti-Nebraska papers of the state, resulted in the issue of the following call:

"'*Editorial Convention.*—All editors in Illinois opposed to the Nebraska bill are requested to meet in Convention at Decatur, Illinois, on the 22d of February next, for the purpose of making arrangements for organizing the Anti-Nebraska forces in this state for the coming contest. All editors favoring the movement will please forward a copy of their paper containing their approval to the office of the Illinois 'State Chronicle,' Decatur.

"Twenty-five papers indorsed the call, but on the day of the meeting only about half that number of editors put in an appearance. One reason for the small number was the fact that, on the night before a heavy snow-storm had fallen throughout the state, obstructing the passage of trains on the two railroads centering at Decatur. The meeting was held in the parlor of the 'Cassell House'—afterwards the 'Oglesby House,' now called the 'St. Nicholas Hotel.' Those present and participating in the opening proceedings, as shown by the official report, were: E. C. Dougherty, 'Register,' Rockford; Charles Faxon, 'Post,' Princeton; A. N. Ford, 'Gazette,' Lacon; Thomas J. Pickett, 'Republican,' Peoria; Virgil Y. Ralston, 'Whig,' Quincy; Charles H. Ray, 'Tribune,' Chicago; George Schneider, 'Staats Zeitung,' Chicago; Paul Selby, 'Journal,' Jacksonville; B. F. Shaw, 'Telegraph,' Dixon; W. J. Usrey, 'Chronicle,' Decatur, and O. P. Wharton, 'Advertiser,' Rock Island. In the organization Paul Selby was made Chairman and W. J. Usrey, Secretary, while Messrs. Ralston, Ray, Wharton, Dougherty, Pickett and Schneider constituted a Committee on Resolutions. The platform adopted as 'a basis of common and concerted action' among the members of the new organization, embraced a declaration of principles that would be regarded in this day as most conservative Republicanism, recognizing 'The legal rights of the slave states to hold and

enjoy their property in slaves under their state laws'; reaffirming the principles of the Declaration of Independence, with its correlative doctrine that 'Freedom is national and slavery sectional'; declaring assumption of the right to extend slavery on the plea that it is essential to the security of the institution 'an invasion of our rights' which 'must be resisted'; demanding the restoration of the Missouri Compromise and 'the restriction of slavery to its present authorized limits'; advocating the maintenance of 'the naturalization laws as they are' and favoring 'the widest tolerance in matters of religion and faith' (a rebuke to Know-Nothingism); pledging resistance to assaults upon the common school system, and closing with a demand for reformation in the administration of the state Government as 'second only in importance to the question of slavery itself.' Mr. Lincoln was present in Decatur during the day, and, although he did not take part in the public deliberations of the convention, he was in close conference with the Committee on Resolutions, and the impress of his hand is seen in the character of the platform adopted. Messrs. Ray and Schneider, of the Chicago press, were also influential factors in shaping the declaration of principles with which the new party in Illinois started on its long career of almost uninterrupted success.

"The day's proceedings ended with a complimentary banquet given to the editors at the same hotel by the citizens of Decatur. Speeches were made in response to toasts by Mr. Lincoln, R. J. Oglesby (afterward Major-General of Volunteers and three times Governor of Illinois—then a young lawyer of Decatur), Ray of the Chicago 'Tribune,' Ralston of the Quincy 'Whig' and others among the editors. In the course of his speech, referring to a movement which some of the editors present had inaugurated to make him the Anti-Nebraska candidate for Governor at the ensuing election, Mr. Lincoln spoke (in substance) as follows: 'I wish to say why I should not be a candidate. If I should be chosen, the Democrats would say it was nothing more

than an attempt to resurrect the dead body of the old Whig Party. I would secure the vote of that party and no more, and our defeat will follow as a matter of course. But I can suggest a name that will secure not only the old Whig vote, but enough Anti-Nebraska Democrats to give us the victory. That man is Colonel William H. Bissell.'

"Here Mr. Lincoln again displayed his characteristic unselfishness and sagacity. That he would, at that time, have regarded an election to the Governorship of the great State of Illinois as an honor not worth contending for, will scarcely be presumed. He was seeking more important results, however, in the interest of freedom and good government—the ending of the political chaos that had prevailed for the past two years and the consolidation of the forces opposed to slavery extension in a compact political organization. Bissell had been an officer in the Mexican War with a good record; had afterwards, as a member of Congress from the Belleville District, opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and had refused to be brow-beaten by Jefferson Davis into the retraction of statements he had made on the floor of Congress. As will appear later, he was nominated and Lincoln's judgment vindicated by his election and the unification of the elements which afterwards composed the Republican Party.

"One of the last acts of the editorial convention was the appointment of a State Central Committee, consisting of one member for each Congressional District and two for the state at large. Some of the names were suggested by Mr. Lincoln, while the others received his approval. . . . A supplementary resolution recommended the holding of a State Convention at Bloomington, on the 29th of May following, and requested the committee just appointed to issue the necessary call. . . .

"It is a coincidence of some interest that on the day the Illinois editors were in session at Decatur, a convention of representatives from different states, with a similar object in view for the country at large, was in session at Pittsburg,

Pa. The latter was presided over by the venerable Francis P. Blair, of Maryland, while among its most prominent members appear such names as those of Governor E. D. Morgan of New York, Horace Greeley, Preston King, David Wilmot, Oliver P. Morton, Joshua R. Giddings, Zachariah Chandler and many others of national reputation. A National Committee there appointed called the first National Convention of the Republican Party, held at Philadelphia on the 17th of June."

In the interval between the Decatur meeting and the Bloomington Convention called for May 29, the excitement in the county over Kansas grew almost to a frenzy. The new state was in the hands of a pro-slavery mob, her Governor a prisoner, her capital in ruins, her voters intimidated. The newspapers were full of accounts of the attack on Sumner in the United States Senate by Brooks. One of the very men who had been expected to be a leader in the Bloomington Convention, Paul Selby, was lying at home prostrated by a cowardly blow from a political opponent. Little wonder then that when the convention met its members were resolved to take radical action. The convention was opened with John M. Palmer, afterwards United States Senator, in its chair, and in a very short time it had adopted a platform, appointed delegates to the National Convention, nominated a state ticket, completed, in short, all the work of organizing the Republican Party in Illinois. After this work of organizing and nominating was finished, there was a call for speeches. The convention felt the need of some powerful amalgamating force which would weld its discordant ele-

ments. In spite of the best intentions of the members, their most manful efforts, they knew in their hearts that they were still political enemies, that the Whig was still a Whig, the Democrat a Democrat, the Abolitionist an Abolitionist. Man after man was called to the platform and spoke without producing any marked effect, when suddenly there was a call raised of a name not on the program—"Lincoln"—"Lincoln"—"give us Lincoln!" The crowd took it up and made the hall ring until a tall figure rose in the back of the audience and slowly strode down the aisle. As he turned to his audience there came gradually a great change upon his face. "There was an expression of intense emotion," Judge Scott, of Bloomington, once told the author. "It was the emotion of a great soul. Even in stature he seemed greater. He seemed to realize it was a crisis in his life."

Lincoln, in fact, had come to the parting of the ways in his political life, to the moment when he must publicly break with his party. For two years he had tried to fight slavery extension under the name of a Whig. He had found it could not be done, and now in spite of the efforts of his conservative friends who had vainly tried to keep him away from the Bloomington Convention, he was facing that convention, was openly ackowledging that henceforth he worked with the Republican Party.

Lincoln's extraordinary human insight and sympathy told him as he looked at his audience that what this body of splendid, earnest, but groping men needed was to feel that they had undertaken a cause of such transcendent value that beside it all previous

alliances, ambitions and duties were as nothing. If he could make them see the triviality of their differences as compared with the tremendous principle of the new party, he was certain they would go forth Republicans in spirit as well as in name.

He began his speech, then, deeply moved, and with a profound sense of the importance of the moment. At first he spoke slowly and haltingly, but gradually he grew in force and intensity until his hearers arose from their chairs and with pale faces and quivering lips pressed unconsciously towards him. Starting from the back of the broad platform on which he stood, his hands on his hips, he slowly advanced towards the front, his eyes blazing, his face white with passion, his voice resonant with the force of his conviction. As he advanced he seemed to his audience fairly to grow, and when at the end of a period he stood at the front line of the stage, hands still on the hips, head back, raised on his tiptoes, he seemed like a giant inspired. "At that moment he was the handsomest man I ever saw," Judge Scott declared.

So powerful was his effect on his audience that men and women wept as they cheered and children there that night still remember the scene, though at the time they understood nothing of its meaning. As he went on there came upon the convention the very emotion he sought to arouse. "Every one in that before incongruous assembly came to feel as one man, to think as one man and to purpose and resolve as one man," says one of his auditors. He had made every man of them pure Republican. He did something more. The indignation which the outrages in

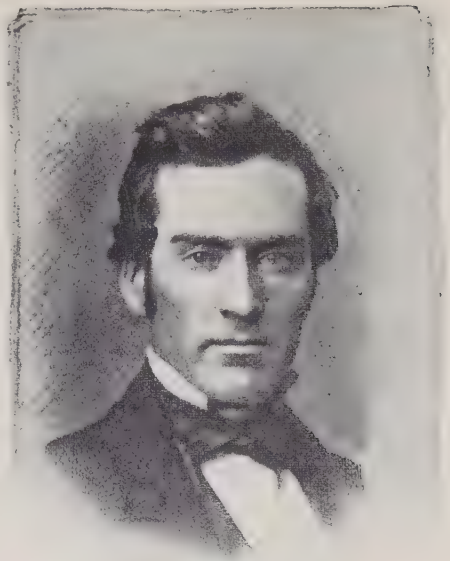
Kansas and throughout the country had aroused was uncontrolled. Men talked passionately of war. It was at this meeting that Lincoln, after firing his hearers by an expression which became a watchword of the campaign, "We won't go out of the Union, and you shan't," poured oil on the wrath of the Illinois opponents of the Nebraska Bill by advising "ballots, not bullets."

Nothing illustrates better the extraordinary power of Lincoln's speech at Bloomington than the way he stirred up the newspaper reporters. It was before the stenographer had become acclimated in Illinois, though long-hand reports were regularly taken. Of course, all the leading papers of the state leaning towards the new party, had reporters at the convention. Among these was Mr. Joseph Medill.

"It was my journalistic duty," says Mr. Medill, "though a delegate to the convention, to make a 'long-hand' report of the speeches delivered for the Chicago 'Tribune.' I did make a few paragraphs of what Lincoln said in the first eight or ten minutes, but I became so absorbed in his magnetic oratory that I forgot myself and ceased to take notes; and joined with the convention in cheering and stamping and clapping to the end of his speech.

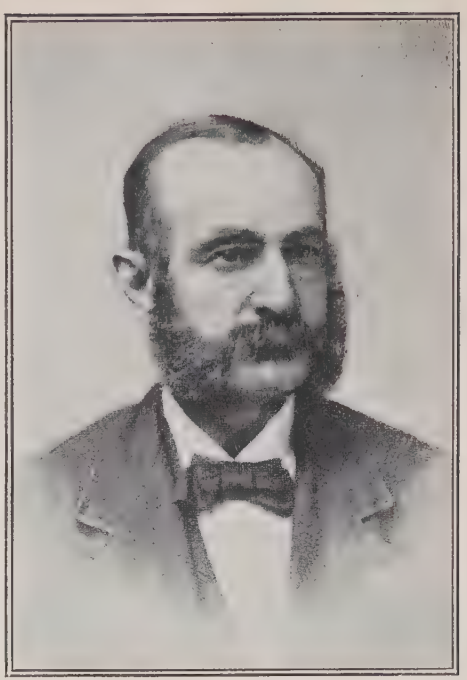
"I well remember that after Lincoln sat down and calm had succeeded the tempest, I waked out of a sort of hypnotic trance, and then thought of my report for the 'Tribune.' There was nothing written but an abbreviated introduction.

"It was some sort of satisfaction to find that I had not been 'scooped,' as all the newspaper men present had been equally carried away by the excitement caused by the wonderful oration and had made no report or sketch of the speech."



JOSEPH MEDILL.

From a daguerreotype taken in 1854, when Mr. Medill was twenty-nine years of age.



H. C. WHITNEY.

From a photograph taken by Copelin, Chicago, in 1874.

A number of Lincoln's friends, young lawyers, most of them, were accustomed to taking notes of speeches, and as usual sharpened their pencils as he began. "I attempted for about fifteen minutes," says Mr. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, "as was usual with me then to take notes, but at the end of that time I threw pen and paper away and lived only in the inspiration of the hour." The result of this excitement was that when the convention was over there was no reporter present who had anything for his newspaper. They all went home and wrote burning editorials about the speech and its great principle, but as to reproducing it they could not. Men came to talk of it all over Illinois. They realized that it had been a purifying fire for the party, but as to what it contained no one could say. Gradually it became known as Lincoln's "lost speech." From the very mystery of it its reputation grew greater as time went on.

But though the convention so nearly to a man lost its head, there was at least one auditor who had enough control to pursue his usual habit of making notes of the speeches he heard. This was a young lawyer on the same circuit as Lincoln, Mr. H. C. Whitney. For some three weeks before the convention Lincoln and Whitney had been attending court at Danville. They had discussed the political situation in the state carefully, and to Whitney Lincoln had stated his convictions and determinations. In a way Whitney had absorbed Lincoln's speech beforehand, as indeed any one must have done who was with Lincoln when he was preparing an address, it being

his habit to discuss points and to repeat them aloud indifferent to who heard him. Whitney had gone to the convention intending to make notes, knowing, as he did, that Lincoln had not written out what he was going to say. Fortunately he had a cool enough head to keep to his purpose. He made his notes, and on returning to Judge Davis's home in Bloomington, where he, with Lincoln and one or two others, were staying, he enlarged them while the others discussed the speech. These notes Whitney kept for many years, always intending to write them out, but never attending to it until the author, in 1896, learned that he had them and urged him to expand them. This Mr. Whitney did, and the speech was first published in "McClure's Magazine" for September, 1896. Mr. Whitney did not claim that he had made a full report. He did claim that the argument was correct and that in many cases the expressions were exact. A few quotations will show any one familiar with Lincoln's speeches that Mr. Whitney has caught much of their style, for instance, the following:

. . . . . .

"We come—we are here assembled together—to protest as well as we can against a great wrong, and to take measures, as well as we now can, to make that wrong right; to place the nation, as far as it may be possible now, as it was before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and the plain way to do this is to restore the Compromise, and to demand and determine that *Kansas shall be free!* While we affirm, and reaffirm, if necessary, our devotions to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, let our practical work here be limited to the above. We know that there is not a perfect agreement of sentiment here on the public questions which

might be rightfully considered in this convention, and that the indignation which we all must feel cannot be helped; but all of us must give up something for the good of the cause. There is one desire which is uppermost in the mind, one wish common to us all—to which no dissent will be made; and I counsel you earnestly to bury all resentment, to sink all personal feeling, make all things work to a common purpose in which we are united and agreed about, and which all present will agree is absolutely necessary—which *must* be done by any rightful mode if there be such: *Slavery must be kept out of Kansas!* The test—the pinch—is right there. If we lose Kansas to freedom, an example will be set which will prove fatal to freedom in the end. We, therefore, in the language of the *Bible*, must 'lay the axe to the root of the tree.' Temporizing will not do longer; now is the time for decision—for firm, persistent, resolute action.

. . . . . .

"We have made a good beginning here to-day. As our Methodist friends would say, 'I feel it is good to be here.' While extremists may find some fault with the moderation of our platform, they should remember that 'the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift.' In grave emergencies, moderation is generally safer than radicalism; and as this struggle is likely to be long and earnest, we must not, by our action, repel any who are in sympathy with us in the main, but rather win all that we can to our standard. We must not belittle nor overlook the facts of our condition —that we are new and comparatively weak, while our enemies are entrenched and relatively strong. They have the administration and the political power; and, right or wrong, at present they have the numbers. Our friends who urge an appeal to arms with so much force and eloquence, should recollect that the government is arrayed against us, and that the numbers are now arrayed against us as well; or, to state it nearer to the truth, they are not yet expressly and affirmatively for us; and we should repel friends rather than gain them by anything savoring of revolutionary

methods. As it now stands, we must appeal to the sober sense and patriotism of the people. We will make converts day by day; we will grow strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures. The battle of freedom is to be fought out on principle. Slavery is a violation of the eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition, but *as sure as God reigns and school children read,* THAT BLACK FOUL LIE CAN NEVER BE CONSECRATED INTO GOD'S HALLOWED TRUTH!

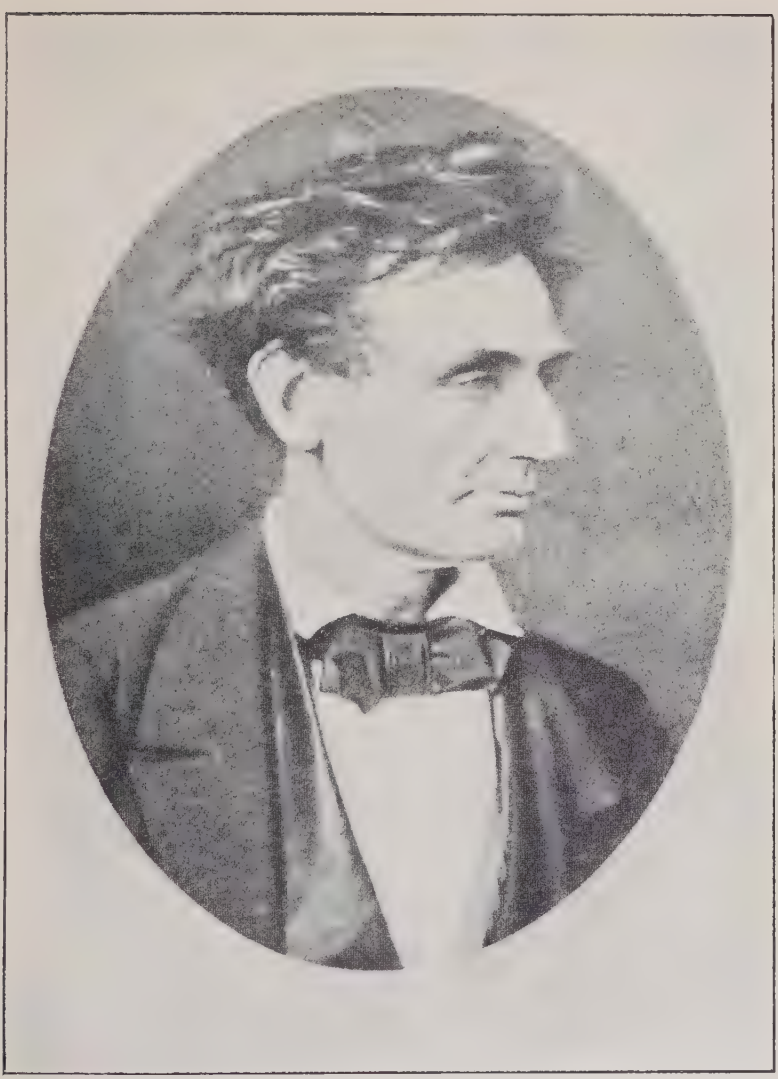
. . . . . .

"I will not say that we may not sooner or later be compelled to meet force by force; but the time has not yet come, and if we are true to ourselves, may never come. Do not mistake that the ballot is stronger than the bullet. Therefore, let the legions of slavery use bullets; but let us wait patiently till November, and fire ballots at them in return; and by that peaceful policy, I believe we shall ultimately win.

. . . . . .

"Did you ever, my friends, seriously reflect upon the speed with which we are tending downwards? Within the memory of men now present the leading statesmen of Virginia could make genuine, red-hot abolitionist speeches in old Virginia; and, as I have said, now even in 'free Kansas' it is a crime to declare that it is 'free Kansas.' The very sentiments that I and others have just uttered would entitle us, and each of us, to the ignominy and seclusion of a dungeon; and yet I suppose that, like Paul, we were 'free born.' But if this thing is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further to impress the same rule in Illinois.

"The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise. We must highly resolve that *Kansas must be free!* We must reinstate the birthday promise of the Republic; we must reaffirm the Declaration of Inde-



LINCOLN IN 1857.

From a photograph loaned by H. W. Fay of De Kalb, Illinois. The original was taken early in 1857 by Alexander Hesler of Chicago. Mr. Fay writes of the picture: "I have a letter from Mr. Hesler stating that one of the lawyers came in and made arrangements for the sitting, so that the members of the bar could get prints. Lincoln said at the time that he did not know why the boys wanted such a homely face." Mr. Joseph Medill of Chicago went with Mr. Lincoln to have the picture taken. He says that the photographer insisted on smoothing down Lincoln's hair, but Lincoln did not like the result, and ran his fingers through it before sitting. The original negative was burned in the Chicago fire.

pendence; we must make good in essence as well as in form Madison's avowal that 'the word *slave* ought not to appear in the Constitution'; and we must even go further, and decree that only local law, and not that time-honored instrument, shall shelter a slave-holder. We must make this a land of liberty in fact, as it is in name. But in seeking to attain these results—so indispensable if the liberty which is our pride and boast shall endure—we will be loyal to the Constitution and to the 'flag of our Union,' and no matter what our grievance—even though Kansas shall come in as a slave state; and no matter what theirs—even if we shall restore the Compromise—WE WILL SAY TO THE SOUTHERN DISUNIONISTS, WE WON'T GO OUT OF THE UNION, AND YOU SHAN'T!!!"

. . . . . .

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

"The greatest speech ever made in Illinois, and it puts Lincoln on the track for the Presidency," was the comment made by enthusiastic Republicans on Lincoln's speech before the Bloomington Convention. Conscious that it was he who had put the breath of life into their organization, the party instinctively turned to him as its leader. The effect of this local recognition was at once perceptible in the national organization. Less than three weeks after the delivery of the Bloomington speech, the national convention of the Republican Party met in Philadelphia June 17, to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. Lincoln's name was the second proposed for the latter office, and on the first ballot he received one hundred and ten votes. The news reached him at Urbana, Ill., where he was attending court, one of his companions reading from a daily paper just received from Chicago, the result of the ballot. The simple name Lincoln was given, without the name of the man's state. Lincoln said indifferently that he did not suppose it could be himself; and added that there was "another great man" of the name, a man from Massachusetts. The next day, however, he knew that it was himself to whom the convention had given so strong an endorsement. He

knew also that the ticket chosen was Frémont and Dayton.

The campaign of the following summer and fall was one of intense activity for Lincoln. In Illinois and the neighboring states he made over fifty speeches, only fragments of which have been preserved. One of the first of importance was delivered on July 4, 1856, at a great mass meeting at Princeton, the home of the Lovejoys and the Bryants. The people were still irritated by the outrages in Kansas and by the attack on Sumner in the Senate, and the temptation to deliver a stirring and indignant oration must have been strong. Lincoln's speech was, however, a fine example of political wisdom, an historical argument admirably calculated to convince his auditors that they were right in their opposition to slavery extension, but so controlled and sane that it would stir no impulsive radical to violence. There probably was not uttered in the United States on that critical 4th of July, 1856, when the very foundation of the government was in dispute and the day itself seemed a mockery, a cooler, more logical speech than this by the man who, a month before, had driven a convention so nearly mad that the very reporters had forgotten to make notes. And the temper of this Princeton speech Lincoln kept throughout the campaign.

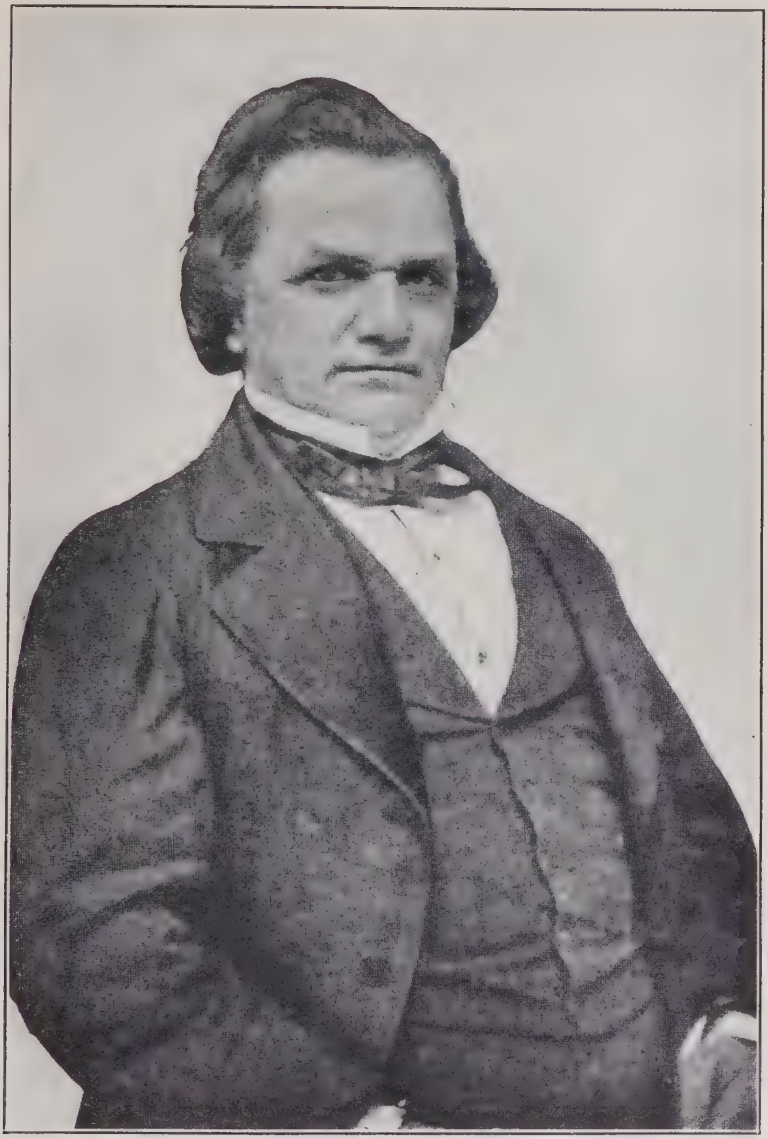
In spite of the valiant struggle of the Republicans, Buchanan was elected; but Lincoln was in no way discouraged. The Republicans had polled 1,341,264 votes in the country. In Illinois, they had given Frémont nearly 100,000 votes, and they had elected their

candidate for governor, General Bissell. Lincoln turned from arguments to encouragements and good counsel.

"All of us," he said at a Republican banquet in Chicago, a few weeks after the election, "who did not vote for Mr. Buchanan, taken together, are a majority of four hundred thousand. But in the late contest we were divided between Frémont and Fillmore. Can we not come together for the future? Let every one who really believes and is resolved that free society is not and shall not be a failure, and who can conscientiously declare that in the last contest he has done only what he thought best—let every such one have charity to believe that every other one can say as much. Thus let bygones be bygones; let past differences as nothing be; and with steady eye on the real issue let us reinaugurate the good old 'central idea' of the republic. We can do it. The human heart is with us; God is with us. We shall again be able, not to declare that 'all states as states are equal,' nor yet that 'all citizens as citizens are equal,' but to renew the broader, better declaration, including both these and much more, that 'all men are created equal.'"

The spring of 1857 gave Lincoln a new line of argument. Buchanan was scarcely in the Presidential chair before the Supreme Court, in the decision of the Dred Scott case, declared that a negro could not sue in the United States courts and that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the Territories. This decision was such an evident advance of the slave power that there was a violent uproar in the North. Douglas went at once to Illinois to calm his constituents. "What," he cried, "oppose the Supreme Court! Is it not sacred? To resist it is anarchy."

Lincoln met him fairly on the issue in a speech at Springfield in June, 1857.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

"We believe as much as Judge Douglas (perhaps more) in obedience to and respect for the judicial department of government. . . . But we think the Dred Scott decision is erroneous. We know the court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this. We offer no resistance to it. . . . If this important decision had been made by the unanimous concurrence of the judges, and without any apparent partisan bias, and in accordance with legal public expectation and with the steady practice of the departments throughout our history, and had been in no part based on assumed historical facts which are not really true; or if, wanting in some of these, it had been before the court more than once, and had there been affirmed and reaffirmed through a course of years, it then might be, perhaps would be, factious, nay, even revolutionary, not to acquiesce in it as a precedent. But when, as is true, we find it wanting in all these claims to the public confidence, it is not resistance, it is not factious, it is not even disrespectful, to treat it as not having yet quite established a settled doctrine for the country."

Let Douglas cry "awful," "anarchy," "revolution," as much as he would, Lincoln's arguments against the Dred Scott decision appealed to common sense and won him commendation all over the country. Even the radical leaders of the party in the East —Seward, Sumner, Theodore Parker—began to notice him, to read his speeches, to consider his arguments.

With every month of 1857 Lincoln grew stronger, and his election in Illinois as United States senatorial candidate in 1858 against Douglas would have been insured if Douglas had not suddenly broken with Buchanan and his party in a way which won him the hearty sympathy and respect of a large part of the

Republicans of the North. By a flagrantly unfair vote the pro-slavery leaders of Kansas had secured the adoption of the Lecompton Constitution allowing slavery in the state. President Buchanan urged Congress to admit Kansas with her bogus Constitution. Douglas, who would not sanction so base an injustice, opposed the measure, voting with the Republicans steadily against the admission. The Buchananists, outraged at what they called "Douglas's apostasy," broke with him. Then it was that a part of the Republican Party, notably Horace Greeley at the head of the New York "Tribune," struck by the boldness and nobility of Douglas's opposition, began to hope to win him over from the Democrats to the Republicans. Their first step was to counsel the leaders of their party in Illinois to put up no candidate against Douglas for the United States senatorship in 1858.

Lincoln saw this change on the part of the Republican leaders with dismay. "Greeley is not doing me right," he said. " . . . I am a true Republican, and have been tried already in the hottest part of the anti-slavery fight; and yet I find him taking up Douglas, a veritable dodger,—once a tool of the South, now its enemy,—and pushing him to the front." He grew so restless over the returning popularity of Douglas among the Republicans that Herndon, his law-partner, determined to go East to find out the real feeling of the eastern leaders towards Lincoln. Herndon had, for a long time, been in correspondence with the leading abolitionists and had no difficulty in getting interviews. The returns he brought back from his canvass were not altogether reassuring. Seward,

Sumner, Phillips, Garrison, Beecher, Theodore Parker, all spoke favorably of Lincoln, and Seward sent him word that the Republicans would never take up so slippery a quantity as Douglas had proved himself. But Greeley—the all-important Greeley—was lukewarm. "The Republican standard is too high," he told Herndon. "We want something practical. . . . Douglas is a brave man. Forget the past and sustain the righteous." "Good God, *righteous,* eh!" groaned Herndon in his letter to Lincoln.

But though the encouragement which came to Lincoln from the East in the spring of 1858 was meagre, that which came from Illinois was abundant. There the Republicans supported him in whole-hearted devotion. In June, the State convention, meeting in Springfield to nominate a candidate for Senator, declared that Abraham Lincoln was its *first and only choice* as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas. The press was jubilant. "Unanimity is a weak word," wrote the editor of the Bloomington "Pantagraph," "to express the universal and intense feeling of the convention. *'Lincoln!* LINCOLN!! LINCOLN!!!' was the cry everywhere, whenever the senatorship was alluded to. Delegates from Chicago and from Cairo, from the Wabash and the Illinois, from the north, the center, and the south, were alike fierce with enthusiasm, whenever that loved name was breathed. Enemies at home and misjudging friends abroad, who have looked for dissension among us on the question of the senatorship, will please take notice that our nomination is a *unanimous* one; and that, in the event of a Republican majority in the next Legisla-

ture, no other name than Lincoln's will be mentioned, or thought of, by a solitary Republican legislator. One little incident in the convention was a pleasing illustration of the universality of the Lincoln sentiment. Cook County had brought a banner into the assemblage inscribed, 'Cook County for Abraham Lincoln.' During a pause in the proceedings, a delegate from another county rose and proposed, with the consent of the Cook County delegation, '*to amend the banner* by substituting for "Cook County" the word which I hold in my hand,' at the same time unrolling a scroll, and revealing the word 'Illinois' in huge capitals. The Cook delegation promptly *accepted the amendment,* and amidst a perfect hurricane of hurrahs, the banner was duly altered to express the sentiment of the whole Republican Party of the state, thus: 'Illinois for Abraham Lincoln.' "

On the evening of the day of his nomination, Lincoln addressed his constituents. The first paragraph of his speech gave the key to the campaign he proposed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

Then followed the famous charge of conspiracy against the slavery advocates, the charge that Pierce, Buchanan, Chief Justice Taney, and Douglas had been making a concerted effort to legalize the institution of slavery "in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South." He marshalled one after another of the measures that the pro-slavery leaders

THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS MEETING AT GALESBURG, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 7, 1858.

The fifth debate between Lincoln and Douglas was held at Galesburg, Illinois, on October 7, 1858. The platform from which they spoke was erected at the end of Knox College. The students took a lively interest in the contest, decorating the college gayly with flags and streamers. Immediately over the heads of the speakers, extending across the end of the building, was placed a large banner bearing the words: "KNOX COLLEGE FOR LINCOLN."

had secured in the past four years and clinched the argument by one of his inimitable illustrations:

"When we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen,—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James,* for instance,—and we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly filled and prepared yet to bring such a piece in—in such a case we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft, drawn up before the first blow was struck."

The speech was severely criticised by Lincoln's friends. It was too radical. It was sectional. He heard the complaints unmoved. "If I had to draw a pen across my record," he said, one day, "and erase my whole life from sight, and I had one poor gift or choice left as to what I should save from the wreck, I should choose that speech and leave it to the world unerased."

The speech was, in fact, one of great political adroitness. It forced Douglas to do exactly what he did not want to do in Illinois: explain his own record during the past four years; explain the true meaning of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; discuss the Dred Scott decision; say whether or not he thought slavery so good a thing that the country could afford to extend

* *Stephen* A. Douglas, *Franklin* Pierce, *Roger* Taney, *James* Buchanan.

it instead of confining it where it would be in course of gradual extinction. Douglas wanted the Republicans of Illinois to follow Greeley's advice: "Forgive the past." He wanted to make the most among them of his really noble revolt against the attempt of his party to fasten an unjust constitution on Kansas. Lincoln would not allow him to bask for an instant in the sun of that revolt. He crowded him step by step through his party's record, and compelled him to face what he called the "profound central truth" of the Republican Party, "slavery is wrong and ought to be dealt with as wrong."

But it was at once evident that Douglas did not mean to meet the issue squarely. He called the doctrine of Lincoln's "house-divided-against-itself" speech "sectionalism"; his charge of conspiracy "false"; his talk of the wrong of slavery extension "abolitionism." This went on for a month. Then Lincoln resolved to force Douglas to meet his arguments, and challenged him to a series of joint debates. Douglas was not pleased. His reply to the challenge was irritable, even slightly insolent. To those of his friends who talked with him privately of the contest, he said: "I do not feel, between you and me, that I want to go into this debate. The whole country knows me, and has me measured. Lincoln, as regards myself, is comparatively unknown, and if he gets the best of this debate,—and I want to say he is the ablest man the Republicans have got,—I shall lose everything and Lincoln will gain everything. Should I win, I shall gain but little. I do not want to go into a debate with Abe." Publicly, however, he carried off

the prospect confidently, even jauntily. "Mr. Lincoln," he said patronizingly, "is a kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman." In the meantime his constituents boasted loudly of the fine spectacle they were going to give the state—"the Little Giant chawing up Old Abe!"

Many of Lincoln's friends looked forward to the encounter with foreboding. Often, in spite of their best intentions, they showed anxiety. "Shortly before the first debate came off at Ottawa," says Judge H. W. Beckwith of Danville, Ill., "I passed the Chenery House, then the principal hotel in Springfield. The lobby was crowded with partisan leaders from various sections of the state, and Mr. Lincoln, from his greater height, was seen above the surging mass that clung about him like a swarm of bees to their ruler. He looked careworn, but he met the crowd patiently and kindly, shaking hands, answering questions, and receiving assurances of support. The day was warm, and at the first chance he broke away and came out for a little fresh air, wiping the sweat from his face.

"As he passed the door he saw me, and, taking my hand, inquired for the health and views of his 'friends over in Vermilion County.' He was assured they were wide awake, and further told that they looked forward to the debate between him and Senator Douglas with deep concern. From the shadow that went quickly over his face, the pained look that came to give quickly way to a blaze of eyes and quiver of lips, I felt that Mr. Lincoln had gone beneath my mere words and caught my inner and current fears as to the result. And then, in a forgiving, jocular

way peculiar to him, he said, 'Sit down; I have a moment to spare and will tell you a story.' Having been on his feet for some time, he sat on the end of the stone step leading into the hotel door, while I stood closely fronting him.

" 'You have,' he continued, 'seen two men about to fight?'

" 'Yes, many times.'

" 'Well, one of them brags about what he means to do. He jumps high in the air cracking his heels together, smites his fists, and wastes his breath trying to scare somebody. You see the other fellow, he says not a word,'—here Mr. Lincoln's voice and manner changed to great earnestness, and repeating—'you see the other man says not a word. His arms are at his side, his fists are closely doubled up, his head is drawn to the shoulder, and his teeth are set firm together. He is saving his wind for the fight, and as sure as it comes off he will win it, or die a-trying.'

"He made no other comment, but arose, bade me good-by, and left me to apply the illustration."

It was inevitable that Douglas's friends should be sanguine, Lincoln's doubtful. The contrast between the two candidates was almost pathetic. Senator Douglas was the most brilliant figure in the political life of the day. Winning in personality, fearless as an advocate, magnetic in eloquence, shrewd in political manœuvring, he had every quality to captivate the public. His resources had never failed him. From his entrance into Illinois politics in 1834, he had been the recipient of every political honor his party had to bestow. For the past eleven years he had been a

member of the United States Senate, where he had influenced all the important legislation of the day and met in debate every strong speaker of North and South. In 1852, and again in 1856, he had been a strongly supported, though unsuccessful, candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. In 1858 he was put at or near the head of every list of possible presidential candidates made up for 1860.

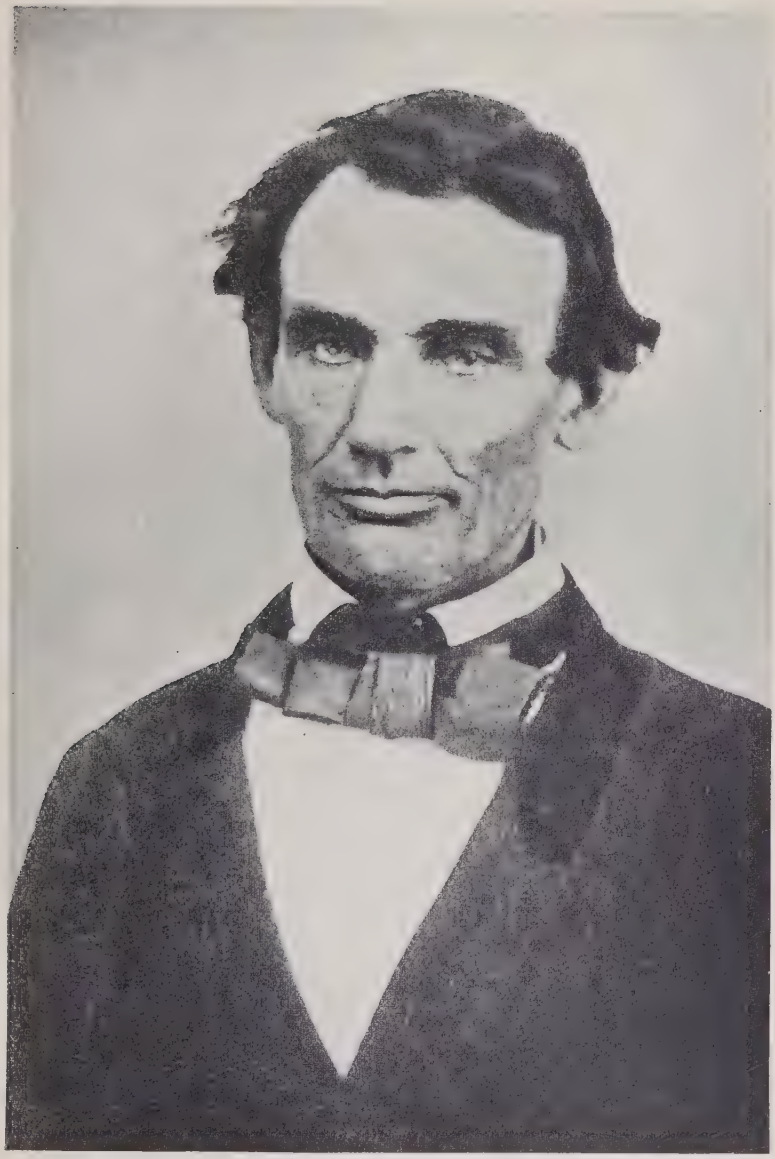
How barren Lincoln's public career in comparison! Three terms in the lower house of the State Assembly, one term in Congress, then a failure which drove him from public life. Now he returns as a bolter from his party, a leader in a new organization which the conservatives are denouncing as "visionary," "impractical," "revolutionary."

No one recognized more clearly than Lincoln the difference between himself and his opponent. "With me," he said sadly, in comparing the careers of himself and Douglas, "the race of ambition has been a failure—a flat failure. With him it has been one of splendid success." He warned his party at the outset that, with himself as a standard-bearer, the battle must be fought on principle alone, without any of the external aids which Douglas's brilliant career gave. "Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown," he said. "All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargéships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in

wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principle alone."

If one will take a map of Illinois and locate the points of the Lincoln and Douglas debates held between August 21 and October 15, 1858, he will see that the whole state was traversed in the contest. The first took place at Ottawa, about seventy-five miles southwest of Chicago, on August 21; the second at Freeport, near the Wisconsin boundary, on August 27. The third was in the extreme southern part of the state, at Jonesboro, on September 15. Three days later the contestants met one hundred and fifty miles northeast of Jonesboro, at Charleston. The fifth, sixth, and seventh debates were held in the western part of the state; at Galesburg, October 7; Quincy, October 13; and Alton, October 15.

Constant exposure and fatigue were unavoidable in meeting these engagements. Both contestants spoke almost every day through the intervals between the



ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1858.

From an ambrotype taken by C. Jackson, in Pittsfield, Ill., October 1, 1858, immediately after Lincoln had made a speech in the public square. Lincoln was the guest in Pittsfield of his friend, D. H. Gilmer, a lawyer for whom the picture was finished.

joint debates; and as railroad communication in Illinois in 1858 was still very incomplete, they were often obliged to resort to horse, carriage, or steamer to reach the desired points. Judge Douglas succeeded, however, in making this difficult journey something of a triumphal procession. He was accompanied throughout the campaign by his wife—a beautiful and brilliant woman—and by a number of distinguished Democrats. On the Illinois Central Railroad he had always a special car, sometimes a special train. Frequently he swept by Lincoln, side-tracked in an accommodation or freight train. "The gentleman in that car evidently smelt no royalty in our carriage," laughed Lincoln one day, as he watched from the caboose of a laid-up freight train the decorated special of Douglas flying by.

It was only when Lincoln left the railroad and crossed the prairie, to speak at some isolated town, that he went in state. The attentions he received were often very trying to him. He detested what he called "fizzlegigs and fireworks," and would squirm in disgust when his friends gave him a genuine prairie ovation. Usually, when he was going to a point distant from the railway, a "distinguished citizen" met him at the station nearest the place with a carriage. When they were come within two or three miles of the town, a long procession with banners and band would appear winding across the prairie to meet the speaker. A speech of greeting was made, and then the ladies of the entertainment committee would present Lincoln with flowers, sometimes even winding a garland about his head and lank figure. His embarrassment at these

attentions was thoroughly appreciated by his friends. At the Ottawa debate the enthusiasm of his supporters was so great that they insisted on carrying him from the platform to the house where he was to be entertained. Powerless to escape from the clutches of his admirers, he could only cry, "Don't, boys; let me down; come now, don't." But the "boys" persisted, and they told proudly in later years of their exploit and of the cordial hand-shake Lincoln, all embarrassed as he was, gave each of them when at last he was free.

On arrival at the towns where the joint debates were held, Douglas was always met by a brass band and a salute of thirty-two guns (the Union was composed of thirty-two states in 1858), and was escorted to the hotel in the finest equipage to be had. Lincoln's supporters took delight in showing their contempt of Douglas's elegance by affecting a Republican simplicity, often carrying their candidate through the streets on a high and unadorned hay-rack drawn by farm horses. The scenes in the towns on the occasion of the debates were perhaps never equalled at any other of the hustings of this country. No distance seemed too great for the people to go; no vehicle too slow or fatiguing. At Charleston there was a great delegation of men, women, and children present which had come in a long procession from Indiana by farm wagons, afoot, on horseback, and in carriages. The crowds at three or four of the debates were for that day immense. There were estimated to be from eight thousand to fourteen thousand people at Quincy, some

six thousand at Alton, from ten thousand to fifteen thousand at Charleston, some twenty thousand at Ottawa. Many of those at Ottawa came the night before. "It was a matter of but a short time," says Mr. George Beatty of Ottawa, "until the few hotels, the livery stables, and private houses were crowded, and there were no accommodations left. Then the campaigners spread out about the town, and camped in whatever spot was most convenient. They went along the bluff and on the bottom-lands, and that night the camp-fires, spread up and down the valley for a mile, made it look as if an army was gathered about us."

When the crowd was massed at the place of the debate, the scene was one of the greatest hubbub and confusion. On the corners of the squares, and scattered around the outskirts of the crowd, were fakirs of every description, selling pain-killers and ague cures, watermelons and lemonade; jugglers and beggars plied their trades, and the brass bands of all the four corners within twenty-five miles tooted and pounded at "Hail Columbia, Happy Land," or "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."

Conspicuous in the processions at all the points was what Lincoln called the "Basket of Flowers," thirty-two young girls in a resplendent car, representing the Union. At Charleston, a thirty-third young woman rode behind the car, representing Kansas. She carried a banner inscribed: "I will be free;" a motto which brought out from nearly all the newspaper reporters the comment that she was too fair to be long free.

The mottoes at the different meetings epitomized the popular conception of the issues and the candidates. Among the Lincoln sentiments were:

Illinois born under the Ordinance of '87.

Free Territories and Free Men,
Free Pulpits and Free Preachers,
Free Press and a Free Pen,
Free Schools and Free Teachers.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way;
The girls link on to Lincoln, their mothers were for Clay."

Abe the Giant-Killer.

Edgar County for the Tall Sucker.

A striking feature of the crowds was the number of women they included. The intelligent and lively interest they took in the debates caused much comment. No doubt Mrs. Douglas's presence had something to do with this. They were particularly active in receiving the speakers, and at Quincy, Lincoln, on being presented with what the local press described as a "beautiful and elegant bouquet," took pains to express his gratification at the part women everywhere took in the contest.

While this helter-skelter outpouring of prairiedom had the appearance of being little more than a great jollification, a lawless country fair, in reality it was with the majority of the people a profoundly serious matter. With every discussion it became more vital. Indeed, in the first debate, which was opened and

Ottawa, Aug. 22. 1858

J. O. Cunningham, Esq

My dear Sir

Yours of the 18th
informing me of Secretary of the Repub. club is received. In the matter of making speeches I am a good deal pressed by invitations from almost all quarters; and while I hope to be at Urbana some time during the canvass, I can not yet say when. Can you not see me at Monticello on the 6th of Sept?

Douglas and I for the first time this canvass crossed swords here yesterday; the fire flew some, and I am glad to know I am yet alive. There was a great concourse of people — more than could hear enough to hear. Yours as ever

A. Lincoln

LINCOLN'S ESTIMATE OF THE FIRST JOINT DEBATE WITH DOUGLAS.

closed by Douglas,* the relation of the two speakers became dramatic. It was here that Douglas, hoping to fasten on Lincoln the stigma of "abolitionist," charged him with having undertaken to abolitionize the old Whig Party, and having been in 1854 a subscriber to a radical platform proclaimed at Springfield. This platform Douglas read. Lincoln, when he replied, could only say he was never at the convention—knew nothing of the resolutions; but the impression prevailed that he was cornered. The next issue of the Chicago "Press and Tribune" dispelled it. That paper had employed to report the debates the first shorthand reporter in Chicago, Mr. Robert L. Hitt—later a Member of Congress and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Mr. Hitt, when Douglas began to read the resolûtions, took an opportunity to rest, supposing he could get the original from the speaker. He took down only the first line of each resolution. He missed Douglas after the debate, but on reaching Chicago, where he wrote out his report, he sent an assistant to the files to find the platform adopted at the Springfield Convention. It was brought, but when Mr. Hitt began to transcribe it he saw at once that it was widely different from the one Douglas had read. There was great excitement in the office, and the staff, ardently Republican, went to work to discover where the resolutions had come from. It was found that they

* By the terms agreed upon by Douglas and Lincoln for regulating the debates Douglas opened at Ottawa, Jonesboro, Galesburg, and Alton with an hour's speech; was followed by Lincoln with a speech of one and a half hours, and closed with a half-hour speech. At the three remaining points, Freeport, Charleston, and Quincy, Lincoln opened and closed.

originated at a meeting of radical abolitionists with whom Lincoln had never been associated.

The "Press and Tribune" announced the "forgery," as it was called in a caustic editorial, "The Little Dodger Cornered and Caught." Within a week even the remote school-districts of Illinois were discussing Douglas's action, and many of the most important papers of the nation had made it a subject of editorial comment.

Almost without exception Douglas was condemned. No amount of explanation on his part helped him. "The particularity of Douglas's charge," said the Louisville "Journal," "precludes the idea that he was simply and innocently mistaken." Lovers of fair play were disgusted, and those of Douglas's own party who would have applauded a trick too clever to have been discovered could not forgive him for one which had been found out. Greeley came out bitterly against him, and before long wrote to Lincoln and Herndon that Douglas was "like the man's boy who (he said) didn't weigh so much as he expected and he always knew he wouldn't."

Douglas's error became a sharp-edged sword in Lincoln's hand. Without directly referring to it, he called his hearers' attention to the forgery every time he quoted a document by his elaborate explanation that he believed, unless there was some mistake on the part of those with whom the matter originated and which he had been unable to detect, that this was correct. Once when Douglas brought forward a document, Lincoln blandly remarked that he could scarcely

be blamed for doubting its genuineness since the introduction of the Springfield resolutions at Ottawa.

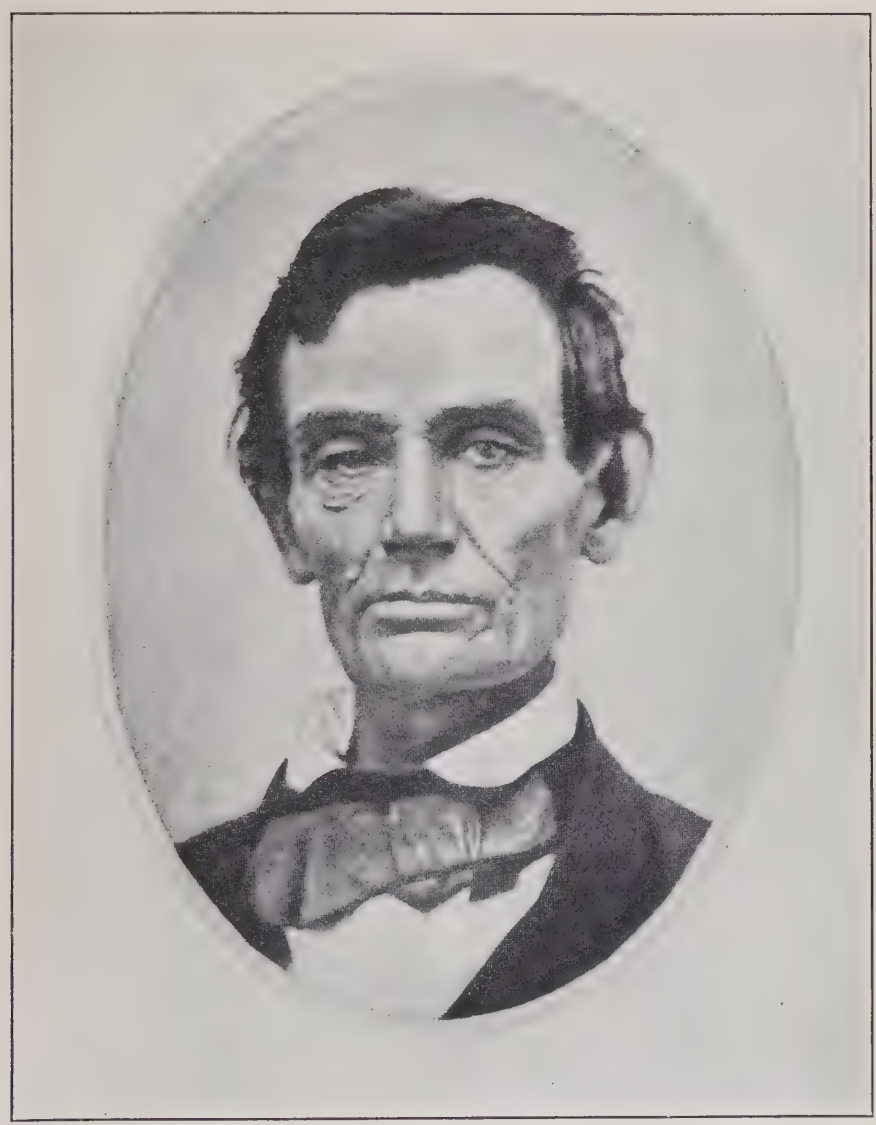
It was in the second debate, at Freeport, that Lincoln made the boldest stroke of the contest. Soon after the Ottawa debate, in discussing his plan for the next encounter, with a number of his political friends, —Washburne, Cook, Judd, and others,—he told them he proposed to ask Douglas four questions, which he read. One and all cried halt at the second question. Under no condition, they said, must he put it. If it were put, Douglas would answer it in such a way as to win the senatorship. The morning of the debate, while on the way to Freeport, Lincoln read the same questions to Mr. Joseph Medill. "I do not like this second question, Mr. Lincoln," said Mr. Medill. The two men argued to their journey's end, but Lincoln was still unconvinced. Even after he reached Freeport several Republican leaders came to him pleading, "Do not ask that question." He was obdurate; and he went on the platform with a higher head, a haughtier step than his friends had noted in him before. Lincoln was going to ruin himself, the committee said despondently; one would think he did not want the senatorship.

The mooted question ran in Lincoln's notes: "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" Lincoln had seen the irreconcilableness of Douglas's own measure of popular sovereignty, which declared that the people

of a territory should be left to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way subject only to the Constitution, and the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case that slaves, being property, could not under the Constitution be excluded from a territory. He knew that if Douglas said *no* to this question, his Illinois constituents would never return him to the Senate. He believed that if he said *yes,* the people of the South would never vote for him for President of the United States. He was willing himself to lose the senatorship in order to defeat Douglas for the Presidency in 1860. "I am after larger game; the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this," he said confidently.

The question was put, and Douglas answered it with rare artfulness. "It matters not," he cried, "what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution; the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension."

His Democratic constituents went wild over the clever way in which Douglas had escaped Lincoln's



LINCOLN IN 1858. AGE 49.

From photograph loaned by W. J. Franklin of Macomb, Illinois, and taken in 1866 from an ambrotype made in 1858, at Macomb.

trap. He now practically had his election. The Republicans shook their heads. Lincoln only was serene. He alone knew what he had done. The Freeport debate had no sooner reached the pro-slavery press than a storm of protest went up. Douglas had betrayed the South. He had repudiated the Supreme Court decision. He had declared that slavery could be kept out of the territories by other legislation than a State Constitution. "The Freeport doctrine," or "the theory of unfriendly legislation," as it became known, spread month by month, and slowly but surely made Douglas an impossible candidate in the South. The force of the question was not realized in full by Lincoln's friends until the Democratic Party met in Charleston, S. C., in 1860, and the southern delegates refused to support Douglas because of the answer he gave to Lincoln's question in the Freeport debate of 1858.

"Do you recollect the argument we had on the way up to Freeport two years ago over the question I was going to ask Judge Douglas?" Lincoln asked Mr. Joseph Medill, when the latter went to Springfield a few days after the election of 1860.

"Yes," said Medill, "I recollect it very well."

"Don't you think I was right now?"

"We were both right. The question hurt Douglas for the Presidency, but it lost you the senatorship."

"Yes, and I have won the place he was playing for."

From the beginning of the campaign Lincoln supplemented the strength of his arguments by inexhaustible good-humor. Douglas, physically worn,

harassed by the trend which Lincoln had given the discussions, irritated that his adroitness and eloquence could not so cover the fundamental truth of the Republican position but that it would up again, often grew angry, even abusive. Lincoln answered him with most effective raillery. At Havana, where he spoke the day after Douglas, he said:

"I am informed that my distinguished friend yesterday became a little excited—nervous, perhaps—and he said something about *fighting*, as though referring to a pugilistic encounter between him and myself. Did anybody in this audience hear him use such language? [Cries of "Yes."] I am informed further, that somebody in *his* audience, rather more excited and nervous than himself, took off his coat, and offered to take the job off Judge Douglas's hands, and fight Lincoln himself. Did anybody here witness that warlike proceeding? [Laughter and cries of "Yes."] Well, I merely desire to say that I shall fight neither Judge Douglas nor his second. I shall not do this for two reasons, which I will now explain. In the first place, a fight would prove *nothing* which is in issue in this contest. It might establish that Judge Douglas is a more muscular man than myself, or it might demonstrate that I am a more muscular man than Judge Douglas. But this question is not referred to in the Cincinnati platform, nor in either of the Springfield platforms. Neither result would prove him right nor me wrong; and so of the gentleman who volunteered to do this fighting for him. If my fighting Judge Douglas would not prove anything, it would certainly prove nothing for me to fight his bottle-holder.

"My second reason for not having a personal encounter with the judge is, that I don't believe he wants it himself. He and I are about the best friends in the world, and when we get together he would no more think of fighting me than of fighting his wife. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, when

the judge talked about fighting, he was not giving vent to any ill feeling of his own, but merely trying to excite—well, *enthusiasm* against me on the part of his audience. And as I find he was tolerably successful, we will call it quits."

More difficult for Lincoln to take good-naturedly than threats and hard names were the irrelevant matters which Douglas dragged into the debates to turn attention from the vital arguments. Thus Douglas insisted repeatedly on taunting Lincoln because his zealous friends had carried him off the platform at Ottawa. "Lincoln was so frightened by the questions put to him," said Douglas, "that he could not walk." He tried to arouse the prejudice of the audience by absurd charges of abolitionism. Lincoln wanted to give negroes social equality; he wanted a negro wife; he was willing to allow Fred Douglass to make speeches for him. Again he took up a good deal of Lincoln's time by forcing him to answer a charge of refusing to vote supplies for the soldiers in the Mexican War. Lincoln denied and explained, until at last, at Charleston, he turned suddenly to Douglas's supporters, dragging one of the strongest of them—the Hon. O. B. Ficklin, with whom he had been in Congress in 1848—to the platform.

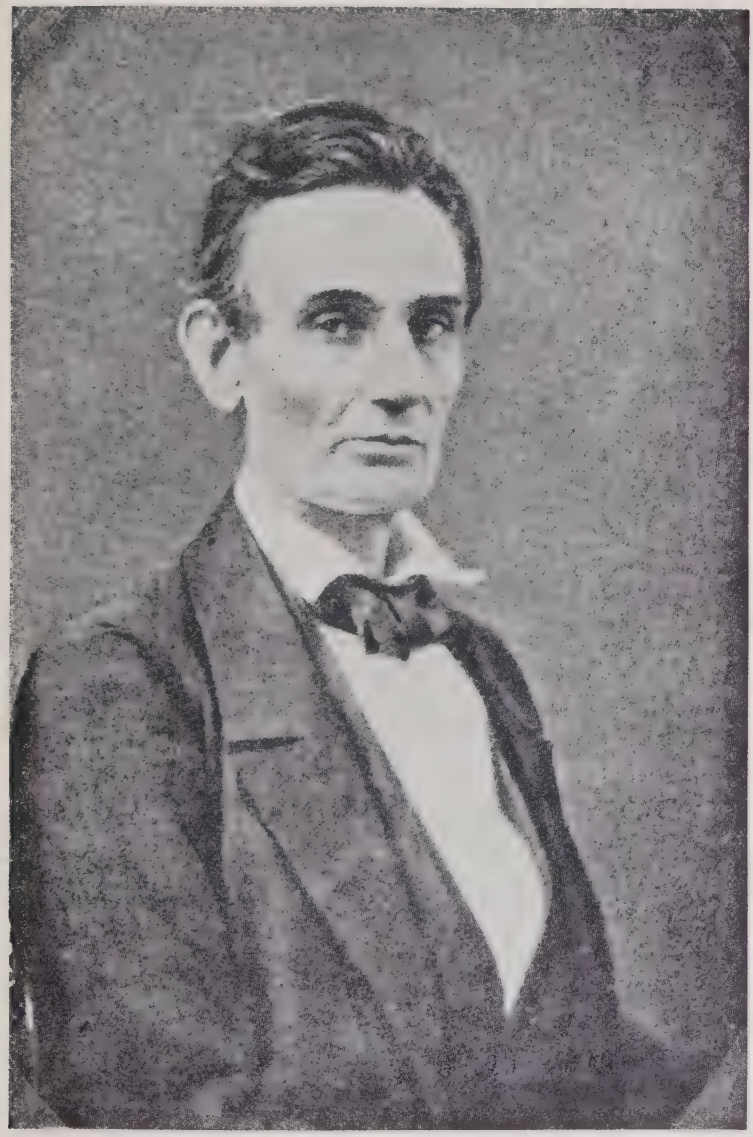
"I do not mean to do anything with Mr. Ficklin," he said, "except to present his face and tell you that he personally knows it to be a lie." And Mr. Ficklin had to acknowledge that Lincoln was right.

"Judge Douglas," said Lincoln in speaking of this policy, "is playing cuttlefish—a small species of fish that has no mode of defending himself when pursued except by throwing out a black fluid which makes the

water so dark the enemy cannot see it, and thus it escapes."

The question at stake was too serious in Lincoln's judgment for platform jugglery. Every moment of time which Douglas forced him to spend answering irrelevant charges he gave begrudgingly. He struggled constantly to keep his speeches on the line of solid argument. Slowly but surely those who followed the debates began to understand this. It was Douglas who drew the great masses to the debates in the first place; it was because of him that the public men and the newspapers of the East, as well as of the West, watched the discussions. But as the days went on it was not Douglas who made the impression.

During the hours of the speeches the two men seemed well mated. "I can recall only one fact of the debates," says Mrs. William Crotty of Seneca, Illinois, "that I felt so sorry for Lincoln while Douglas was speaking, and then to my surprise I felt *so* sorry for Douglas when Lincoln replied." The disinterested to whom it was an intellectual game felt the power and charm of both men. Partisans had each reason enough to cheer. It was afterwards, as the debates were talked over by auditors as they lingered at the country store or were grouped on the fence in the evening, or when they were read in the generous reports which the newspapers of Illinois and even of other states gave, that the thoroughness of Lincoln's argument was understood. Even the first debate at Ottawa had a surprising effect. "I tell you," says Mr. George Beatty of Ottawa, "that debate set people thinking on these important questions



LINCOLN IN 1859.

From a photograph in the collection of H. W. Fay, custodian of the Lincoln Monument, Springfield, Ill. The original was made by S. M. Fassett of Chicago; the negative was destroyed in the Chicago fire. This picture was made at the solicitation of D. B. Cook, who says that Mrs. Lincoln pronounced it the best likeness she had ever seen of her husband. Rajan used the Fassett picture as the original of his etching, and Kruell has made a fine engraving of it.

in a way they hadn't dreamed of. I heard any number of men say: 'This thing is an awfully serious question, and I have about concluded Lincoln has got it right.' My father, a thoughtful, God-fearing man, said to me, as we went home to supper, 'George, you are young, and don't see what this thing means, as I do. Douglas's speeches of "squatter sovereignty" please you younger men, but I tell you that with us older men it's a great question that faces us. We've either got to keep slavery back or it's going to spread all over the country. That's the real question that's behind all this. Lincoln is right.' And that was the feeling that prevailed, I think, among the majority, after the debate was over. People went home talking about the danger of slavery getting a hold in the North. This territory had been Democratic; La Salle County, the morning of the day of the debate, was Democratic; but when the next day came around, hundreds of Democrats had been made Republicans, owing to the light in which Lincoln had brought forward the fact that slavery threatened."

It was among Lincoln's own friends, however, that his speeches produced the deepest impression. They had believed him to be strong, but probably there was no one of them who had not felt dubious about his ability to meet Douglas. Many even feared a fiasco. Gradually it began to be clear to them that Lincoln was the stronger. Could it be that Lincoln really was a great man? The young Republican journalists of the "Press and Tribune"—Scripps, Hitt, Medill—began to ask themselves the question. One evening as they talked over Lincoln's arguments a letter was

received. It came from a prominent eastern statesman. "Who is this man that is replying to Douglas in your state?" he asked. "Do you realize that no greater speeches have been made on public questions in the history of our country; that his knowledge of the subject is profound, his logic unanswerable, his style inimitable?" Similar letters kept coming from various parts of the country. Before the campaign was over Lincoln's friends were exultant. Their favorite was a great man, "a full-grown man," as one of them wrote in his paper.

The country at large watched Lincoln with astonishment. When the debates began there were Republicans in Illinois of wider national reputation. Judge Lyman Trumbull, then Senator, was better known. He was an able debater, and a speech which he had made in August against Douglas's record called from the New York "Evening Post" the remark: "This is the heaviest blow struck at Senator Douglas since he took the field in Illinois; it is unanswerable, and we suspect that it will be fatal." Trumbull's speech the "Post" afterwards published in pamphlet form. Besides Trumbull, Owen Lovejoy, Oglesby, and Palmer were all speaking. That Lincoln should not only have so far outstripped men of his own party, but should have out-argued Douglas was the cause of comment everywhere. "No man of this generation," said the "Evening Post" editorially, at the close of the debate, "has grown more rapidly before the country than Lincoln in this canvass." As a matter of fact, Lincoln had attracted the attention of all the thinking men of the country. "The first thing that

really awakened my interest in him," says Henry Ward Beecher, "was his speech parallel with Douglas in Illinois, and indeed it was that manifestation of ability that secured his nomination to the presidency."

But able as were Lincoln's arguments, deep as was the impression he had made, he was not elected to the senatorship. Douglas won fairly enough; though it is well to note that if the Republicans did not elect a senator they gained a substantial number of votes over those polled in 1856.

Lincoln accepted the result with a serenity inexplicable to his supporters. To him the contest was but one battle in a "durable" struggle. Little matter who won now, if in the end the right triumphed. From the first he had looked at the final result—not at the senatorship. "I do not claim, gentlemen, to be unselfish," he said at Chicago in July. "I do not pretend that I would not like to go to the United States Senate; I make no such hypocritical pretense; but I do say to you that in this mighty issue, it is nothing to you, nothing to the mass of the people of the nation, whether or not Judge Douglas or myself shall ever be heard of after this night; it may be a trifle to either of us, but in connection with this mighty question upon which hang the destinies of the nation perhaps, it is absolutely nothing."

The intense heat and fury of the debates, the defeat in November, did not alter a jot this high view. "I am glad I made the late race," he wrote Dr. A. G. Henry. "It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age which I would have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view and

shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone."

At that date perhaps no one appreciated the value of what Lincoln had done as well as he did himself. He was absolutely sure he was right and that in the end people would see it. Though he might not rise, he knew his cause would. "Douglas had the ingenuity to be supported in the late contest both as the best means to break down and to uphold the slave interest," he wrote. "No ingenuity can keep these antagonistic elements in harmony long. Another explosion will soon occur." His whole attention was given to conserving what the Republicans had gained,—"We have some one hundred and twenty thousand clear Republican votes. That pile is worth keeping together;" to consoling his friends,—"You are feeling badly," he wrote to N. B. Judd, Chairman of the Republican Committee, "and this too shall pass away, never fear;" to rallying for another effort,—"The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats."

If Lincoln had at times a fear that his defeat would cause him to be set aside, it soon was dispelled. The interest awakened in him was genuine, and it spread with the wider reading and discussion of his arguments. He was besieged by letters from all parts of the Union, congratulations, encouragements, criticisms. Invitations for lectures poured in upon him, and he became the first choice of his entire party for political speeches.

The greater number of these invitations he declined.

He had given so much time to politics since 1854 that his law practice had been neglected and he was feeling poor; but there were certain of the calls which could not be resisted. Douglas spoke several times for the Democrats of Ohio in the 1859 campaign for governor and Lincoln naturally was asked to reply. He made but two speeches, one at Columbus on September 16 and the other at Cincinnati on September 17, but he had great audiences on both occasions. The Columbus speech was devoted almost entirely to answering an essay by Douglas which had been published in the September number of "Harper's Magazine," and which began by asserting that—"Under our complex system of government it is the first duty of American statesmen to mark distinctly the dividing-line between Federal and local authority." It was an elaborate argument for "popular sovereignty" and attracted national attention. Indeed, at the moment it was the talk of the country. Lincoln literally tore it to bits.

"What is Judge Douglas's popular sovereignty?" he asked. "It is, as a principle, no other than that if one man chooses to make a slave of another man, neither that other man nor anybody else has a right to object. Applied in government, as he seeks to apply it, it is this: If, in a new territory into which a few people are beginning to enter for the purpose of making their homes, they choose to either exclude slavery from their limits or to establish it there, however one or the other may affect the persons to be enslaved, or the infinitely greater number of persons who are afterward to inhabit that territory, or the other members of the families of communities, of which they are but an incipient member, or the general head of the family of states

as parent of all—however their action may affect one or the other of these, there is no power or right to interfere. That is Douglas's popular sovereignty applied."

It was in this address that Lincoln uttered the oft-quoted paragraphs:

"I suppose the institution of slavery really looks small to him. He is so put up by nature that a lash upon his back would hurt him, but a lash upon anybody else's back does not hurt him. That is the build of the man, and consequently he looks upon the matter of slavery in this unimportant light.

"Judge Douglas ought to remember, when he is endeavoring to force this policy upon the American people, that while he is put up in that way, a good many are not. He ought to remember that there was once in this country a man by the name of Thomas Jefferson, supposed to be a Democrat—a man whose principles and policy are not very prevalent amongst Democrats to-day, it is true; but that man did not take exactly this view of the insignificance of the element of slavery which our friend Judge Douglas does. In contemplation of this thing, we all know he was led to exclaim, 'I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just!' We know how he looked upon it when he thus expressed himself. There was danger to this country, danger of the avenging justice of God, in that little unimportant popular-sovereignty question of Judge Douglas. He supposed there was a question of God's eternal justice wrapped up in the enslaving of any race of men, or any man, and that those who did so braved the arm of Jehovah —that when a nation thus dared the Almighty, every friend of that nation had cause to dread his wrath. Choose ye between Jefferson and Douglas as to what is the true view of this element among us."

One interesting point about the Columbus address is that in it appears the germ of the Cooper Institute

speech delivered five months later in New York City.

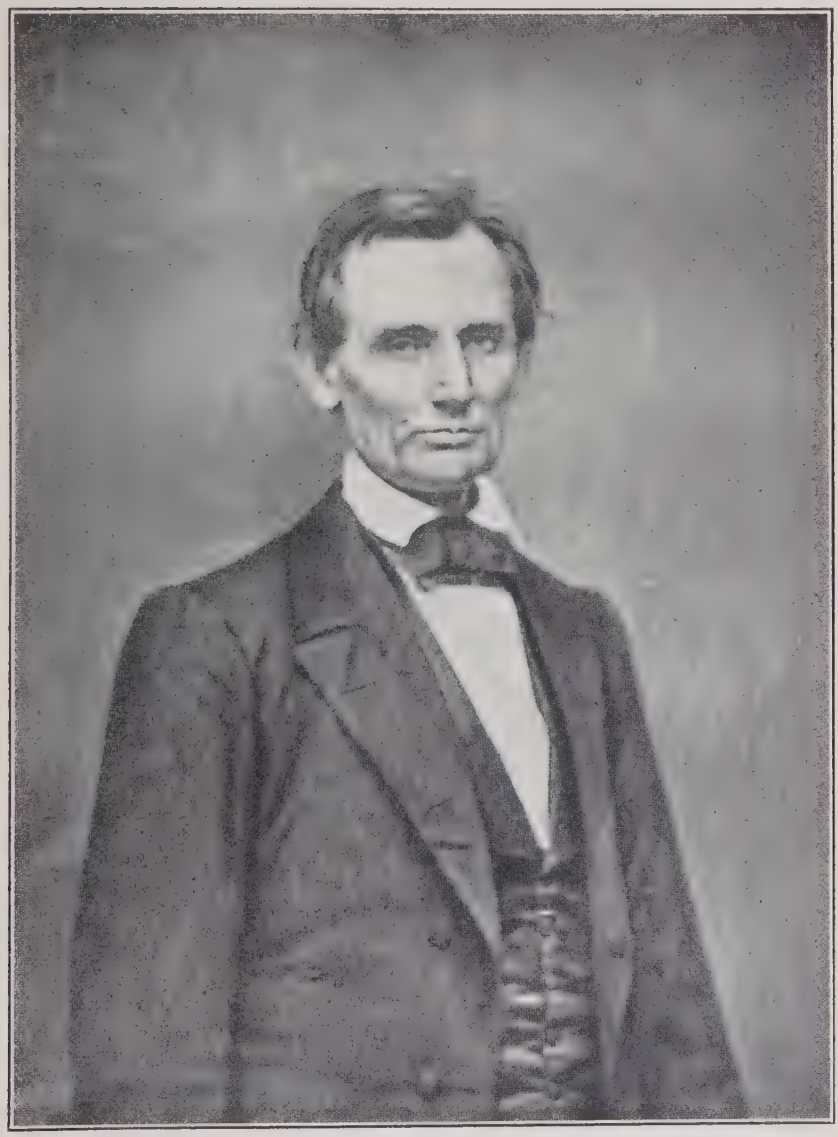
Lincoln made so deep an impression in Ohio by his speeches that the State Republican Committee asked permission to publish them together with the Lincoln-Douglas Debates as campaign documents in the presidential election of the next year.

In December he yielded to the persuasion of his Kansas political friends and delivered five lectures in that state, only fragments of which have been preserved.

Unquestionably the most effective piece of work he did that winter was the address at Cooper Institute, New York, on February 27. He had received an invitation in the fall of 1859 to lecture at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. To his friends it was evident that he was greatly pleased by the compliment, but that he feared that he was not equal to an eastern audience. After some hesitation he accepted, provided they would take a political speech if he could find time to get up no other. When he reached New York he found that he was to speak there instead of Brooklyn, and that he was certain to have a distinguished audience. Fearful lest he was not as well prepared as he ought to be, conscious, too, no doubt, that he had a great opportunity before him, he spent nearly all of the two days and a half before his lecture in revising his matter and in familiarizing himself with it. In order that he might be sure that he was heard he arranged with his friend, Mason Brayman, who had come on to New York with him, to sit in the back of the hall and in case he did not speak loud enough to raise his high hat on a cane.

Mr. Lincoln's audience was a notable one even for New York. It included William Cullen Bryant, who introduced him, Horace Greeley, David Dudley Field and many more well known men of the day. It is doubtful if there were any persons present, even his best friends, who expected that Lincoln would do more than interest his hearers by his sound arguments. Many have confessed since that they feared his queer manner and quaint speeches would amuse people so much that they would fail to catch the weight of his logic. But to the surprise of everybody Lincoln impressed his audience from the start by his dignity and his seriousness. "His manner was, to a New York audience, a very strange one, but it was captivating," wrote an auditor. "He held the vast meeting spellbound, and as one by one his oddly expressed but trenchant and convincing arguments confirmed the soundness of his political conclusions, the house broke out in wild and prolonged enthusiasm. I think I never saw an audience more thoroughly carried away by an orator."

The Cooper Union speech was founded on a sentence from one of Douglas's Ohio speeches:—"Our fathers when they framed the government under which we live understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now." Douglas claimed that the "fathers" held that the Constitution forbade the Federal Government controlling slavery in the territories. Lincoln with infinite care had investigated the opinions and votes of each of the "fathers" —whom he took to be the thirty-nine men who signed the Constitution—and showed conclusively that a



LINCOLN IN FEBRUARY, 1860, AT THE TIME OF THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH.

From photograph by Brady. The debate with Douglas in 1858 had given Lincoln a national reputation, and the following year he received many invitations to lecture. One came from a young men's Republican club in New York. Lincoln consented, and in February, 1860 (about three months before his nomination for the presidency), delivered what is known, from the hall in which it was delivered, as the "Cooper Institute speech." While in New York he was taken by the committee of entertainment to Brady's gallery, and sat for the portrait reproduced above. It was a frequent remark with Lincoln that this portrait and the Cooper Institute speech made him President.

majority of them "certainly understood that no proper division of local from Federal authority nor any part of the Constitution forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the Federal territories." Not only did he show this of the thirty-nine framers of the original Constitution, but he defied anybody to show that one of the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments to the Constitution ever held any such view.

"Let all," he said, "who believe that 'our fathers who framed the government under which we live understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now,' speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask—all Republicans desire—in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guaranties those fathers gave it be not grudgingly, but fully and fairly, maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content."

One after another he took up and replied to the charges the South was making against the North at the moment:—Sectionalism, radicalism, giving undue prominence to the slave question, stirring up insurrection among slaves, refusing to allow constitutional rights, and to each he had an unimpassioned answer impregnable with facts.

The discourse was ended with what Lincoln felt to be a precise statement of the opinion of the question on both sides, and of the duty of the Republican

Party under the circumstances. This portion of his address is one of the finest early examples of that simple and convincing style in which most of his later public documents were written.

"If slavery is right," he said, "all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality—its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension—its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

"Wrong, as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national territories, and to overrun us here in these free states? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong: vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of 'don't care' on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said and undo what Washington did.

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

From New York Lincoln went to Providence, R. I., where he spoke on the evening of February 28th and from there on to New Hampshire to visit his son Robert, then at Phillips Exeter Academy. His coming was known only a short time before he arrived and hurried arrangements were made for him to speak at Concord, Manchester, Exeter and Dover. At Concord the address was made in the afternoon on only a few hours' notice; nevertheless, he had a great audience, so eager were men at the time to hear anybody who had serious arguments on the slavery question. Something of the impression Lincoln made in New Hampshire may be gathered from the following article, "Mr. Lincoln in New Hampshire," which appeared in the Boston "Atlas and Bee" for March 5:

"The Concord 'Statesman' says that notwithstanding the rain of Thursday, rendering travelling very inconvenient, the largest hall in that city was crowded to hear Mr. Lincoln. The editor says it was one of the most powerful, logical and compact speeches to which it was ever our fortune to listen; an argument against the system of slavery, and in defence of the position of the Republican Party, from the deductions of which no reasonable man could possibly escape. He fortified every position assumed, by proofs which it is impossible to gainsay; and while his speech was at intervals enlivened by remarks which elicited applause at the expense of the Democratic Party, there was, nevertheless,

not a single word which tended to impair the dignity of the speaker, or weaken the force of the great truths he uttered.

"The 'Statesman' adds that the address 'was perfect and was closed by a peroration which brought his audience to their feet. We are not extravagant in the remark, that a political speech of greater power has rarely if ever been uttered in the Capital of New Hampshire. At its conclusion nine roof-raising cheers were given; three for the speaker, three for the Republicans of Illinois, and three for the Republicans of New Hampshire.'

"On the same evening Mr. Lincoln spoke at Manchester, to an immense gathering in Smyth's Hall. The 'Mirror,' a neutral paper, gives the following enthusiastic notice of his speech: 'The audience was a flattering one to the reputation of the speaker. It was composed of persons of all sorts of political notions, earnest to hear one whose fame was so great, and we think most of them went away thinking better of him than they anticipated they should. He spoke an hour and a half with great fairness, great apparent candor, and with wonderful interest. He did not abuse the South, the Administration, or the Democrats, or indulge in any personalities, with the solitary exception of a few hits at Douglas's notions. He is far from prepossessing in personal appearance, and his voice is disagreeable, and yet he wins your attention and good will from the start.

" 'He indulges in no flowers of rhetoric, no eloquent passages; he is not a wit, a humorist or a clown; yet, so great a vein of pleasantry and good nature pervades what he says, gilding over a deep current of practical argument, he keeps his hearers in a smiling good mood with their mouths open ready to swallow all he says. His sense of the ludicrous is very keen, and an exhibition of that is the clincher of all his arguments; not the ludicrous acts of persons, but ludicrous ideas. Hence he is never offensive, and steals away willingly into his train of belief persons who are opposed to him. For the first half hour his opponents would agree with every word he uttered, and from that point he began to lead them

off, little by little, cunningly, till it seemed as if he had got them all into his fold. He displays more shrewdness, more knowledge of the masses of mankind than any public speaker we have heard since Long Jim Wilson left for California.' "

From New Hampshire Lincoln went to Connecticut, where he spent a week, speaking at Hartford, New Haven, Meridian, Woonsocket, Norwich and Bridgeport. There are no reports of the New Hampshire speeches, but two of the Connecticut speeches were published in part and one in full. Their effect was very similar, according to the newspapers of the day, to that in New Hampshire, described by the "Atlas and Bee."

By his debates with Douglas and the speeches in Ohio, Kansas, New York and New England, Lincoln had become a national figure in the minds of all the political leaders of the country, and of the thinking men of the North. Never in the history of the United States had a man come to the front in a more logical and intelligent way. At the beginning of the struggle against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, Abraham Lincoln was scarcely known outside of his own state. Even most of the men whom he had met in his brief term in Congress had forgotten him. Yet in four years he had become one of the central figures of his party; and now, by worsting the greatest orator and politician of his time, he had drawn the eyes of the nation to him.

It had been a long road he had travelled to make himself a national figure. Twenty-eight years before he had deliberately entered politics. He had been beaten, but had persisted; he had succeeded and failed;

he had abandoned the struggle and returned to his profession. His outraged sense of justice had driven him back, and for six years he had travelled up and down Illinois trying to prove to men that slavery extension was wrong. It was by no one speech, by no one argument that he had wrought. Every day his ceaseless study and pondering gave him new matter, and every speech he made was fresh. He could not repeat an old speech, he said, because the subject enlarged and widened so in his mind as he went on that it was "easier to make a new one than an old one." He had never yielded in his campaign to tricks of oratory—never played on emotions. He had been so strong in his convictions of the right of his case that his speeches had been arguments pure and simple. Their elegance was that of a demonstration in Euclid. They persuaded because they proved. He had never for a moment counted personal ambition before the cause. To insure an ardent opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in the United States Senate, he had at one time given up his chance for the senatorship. To show the fallacy of Douglas's argument, he had asked a question which his party pleaded with him to pass by, assuring him that it would lose him the election. In every step of these six years he had been disinterested, calm, unyielding, and courageous. He knew he was right, and could afford to wait. "The result is not doubtful," he told his friends. "We shall not fail—if we stand firm. We shall not fail. Wise counsels may accelerate or mistakes delay it; but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come."

The country, amazed at the rare moral and intel-

lectual character of Lincoln, began to ask questions about him, and then his history came out: a pioneer home, little schooling, few books, hard labor at all the many trades of the frontiersman, a profession mastered o' nights by the light of a friendly cooper's fire, an early entry into politics and law—and then twenty-five years of incessant poverty and struggle.

The homely story gave a touch of mystery to the figure which loomed so large. Men felt a sudden reverence for a mind and heart developed to these noble proportions in so unfriendly a habitat. They turned instinctively to one so familiar with strife for help in solving the desperate problem with which the nation had grappled. And thus it was that, at fifty years of age, Lincoln became a national figure.

CHAPTER XIX

LINCOLN'S NOMINATION IN 1860

THE possibility of Abraham Lincoln becoming the presidential candidate of the Republican Party in 1860 was probably first discussed by a few of his friends in 1856. The dramatic speech which in May of that year gave him the leadership of his party in Illinois, and the unexpected and flattering attention he received a few weeks later at the Republican National Convention suggested the idea; but there is no evidence that anything more was excited than a little speculation. The impression Lincoln made two years later in the Lincoln and Douglas debates kindled a different feeling. It convinced a number of astute Illinois politicians that judicious effort would make Lincoln strong enough to justify the presentation of his name as a candidate in 1860 on the ground of pure availability.

One of the first men to conceive this idea was Jesse W. Fell, a local politician of Bloomington, Illinois. During the Lincoln and Douglas debates, Fell was travelling in the Middle and Eastern States. He was surprised to find that Lincoln's speeches attracted general attention, that many papers quoted liberally from them, and that on all sides men plied him with questions about the career and personality of the new man. Before Fell left the East he had made up his mind that Lincoln must be pushed by his own state

as its presidential candidate. One evening, soon after returning home, he met Lincoln in Bloomington, where the latter was attending court and drew him into a deserted law-office for a confidential talk.

"I have been East, Lincoln," said he, "as far as Boston, and up into New Hampshire, travelling in all the New England States, save Maine; in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Indiana; and everywhere I hear you talked about. Very frequently I have been asked, 'Who is this man Lincoln, of your state, now canvassing in opposition to Senator Douglas?' Being, as you know, an ardent Republican and your friend, I usually told them we had in Illinois *two* giants instead of one; that Douglas was the *little* one, as they all knew, but that you were the *big* one, which they didn't all know.

"But, seriously, Lincoln, Judge Douglas being so widely known, you are getting a national reputation *through him,* and the truth is, I have a decided impression that if your popular history and efforts on the slavery question can be sufficiently brought before the people, you can be made a formidable, if not a successful, candidate for the presidency."

"What's the use of talking of me for the presidency," was Lincoln's reply, "whilst we have such men as Seward, Chase, and others, who are so much better known to the people, and whose names are so intimately associated with the principles of the Republican Party? Everybody knows them; nobody scarcely outside of Illinois knows me. Besides, is it not, as a matter of justice, due to such men, who have carried this movement forward to its present status,

in spite of fearful opposition, personal abuse, and hard names? I really think so."

Fell continued his persuasions, and finally requested Lincoln to furnish him a sketch of his life which could be put out in the East. The suggestion grated on Lincoln's sensibilities. He had no chance. Why force himself? "Fell," he said, rising and wrapping his old gray shawl around his tall figure, "I admit that I am ambitious and would like to be President. I am not insensible to the compliment you pay me and the interest you manifest in the matter; *but there is no such good luck in store for me as the presidency of these United States.* Besides, there is nothing in my early history that would interest you or anybody else; and, as Judge Davis says, *'it won't pay.'* Good night." And he disappeared into the darkness.

Lincoln's defeat in November, 1858, in the contest for the United States senatorship, in no way discouraged his friends. A few days after the November election, when it was known that Douglas had been reëlected senator, the Chicago "Democrat," then edited by "Long John" Wentworth, printed an editorial, nearly a column in length, headed "Abraham Lincoln." His work in the campaign then just closed was reviewed and commended in the highest terms.

"His speeches," the "Democrat" declared, "will be recognized for a long time to come as the standard authorities upon those topics which overshadow all others in the political world of our day; and our children will read them and appreciate the great truths which they so forcibly inculcate, with even a higher appreciation of their worth than their fathers possessed while listening to them.

"We, for our part," said the "Democrat" further, "consider that it would be but a partial appreciation of his services to our noble cause that our next State Republican Convention should nominate him for Governor as unanimously and enthusiastically as it did for Senator. With such a leader and with our just cause, we would sweep the state from end to end, with a triumph so complete and perfect that there would be scarce enough of the scattered and demoralized forces of the enemy left to tell the story of its defeat. And this state should also present his name to the National Republican Convention, first for President and next for Vice-President. We should then say to the United States at large that in our opinion the Great Man of Illinois is Abraham Lincoln, and none other than Abraham Lincoln."

All through the year 1859 a few men in Illinois worked quietly but persistently to awaken a demand throughout the state for Lincolns' nomination. The greater number of these were lawyers on Lincoln's circuit, his life-long friends, men like Judge Davis, Leonard Swett, and Judge Logan, who not only believed in him, but loved him, and whose efforts were doubly effective because of their affection. In addition to these were a few shrewd politicians who saw in Lincoln the "available" man the situation demanded; and a group represented by John M. Palmer, who, remembering Lincoln's magnanimity in throwing his influence to Trumbull in 1854, in order to send a sound Anti-Nebraska man to the United States Senate, wanted, as Senator Palmer himself put it, to "pay Lincoln back." Then there were a few young men who had been won by Lincoln in the debates with Douglas, and who threw youthful enthusiasm

and conviction into their support. The first time his name was suggested as a candidate in the newspapers, indeed, was because the young editor of the Central Illinois "Gazette," Mr. W. O. Stoddard, had caught a glimpse of Lincoln's inner might and concluding in a sudden burst of boyish exultation that Lincoln was "the greatest man he had ever seen or heard of," had rushed off and written an editorial nominating him for the presidency; this editorial was published on May 4, 1859.

The work which these men did at this time cannot be traced with any definiteness. It consisted mainly in "talking up" their candidate. They were greatly aided by the newspapers. The press, indeed, followed a concerted plan that had been carefully laid out by the Republican State Committee in the office of the Chicago "Tribune." To give an appearance of spontaneity to the newspaper canvass it was arranged that the country papers should first take up Lincoln's name. Joseph Medill, editor of the "Tribune," and secretary of the committee, says that a Rock Island paper opened the campaign.

Lincoln soon felt the force of this effort in his behalf. Letters came to him from unexpected quarters, offering aid. Everywhere he went on the circuit, men sought him to discuss the situation. In the face of an undoubted movement for him he quailed. The interest was local; could it ever be more? Above all, had he the qualifications for President of the United States? He asked himself these questions as he pondered a reply to an editor who had suggested announcing his name, and he wrote: "I must in all

candor say I do not think myself fit for the presidency."

This was in April, 1859. In the July following he still declared himself unfit. Even in the following November he had little hope of nomination. "For my single self," he wrote to a correspondent who had suggested the putting of his name on the ticket, "I have enlisted for the permanent success of the Republican cause, and for this object I shall labor faithfully in the ranks, unless, as I think not probable, the judgment of the party shall assign me a different position."

The last weeks of 1859 and the first of 1860 convinced Lincoln, however, that, fit or not, he was in the field. Fell, who as corresponding secretary of the Republican State Central Committee had been travelling constantly in the interests of the organization, brought him such proof that his candidacy was generally approved of, that in December, 1859, he consented to write the "little sketch" of his life now known as Lincoln's "autobiography."

He wrote it with a little inward shrinking, a half shame that it was so meagre. "There is not much of it," he apologized in sending the document, "for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material."

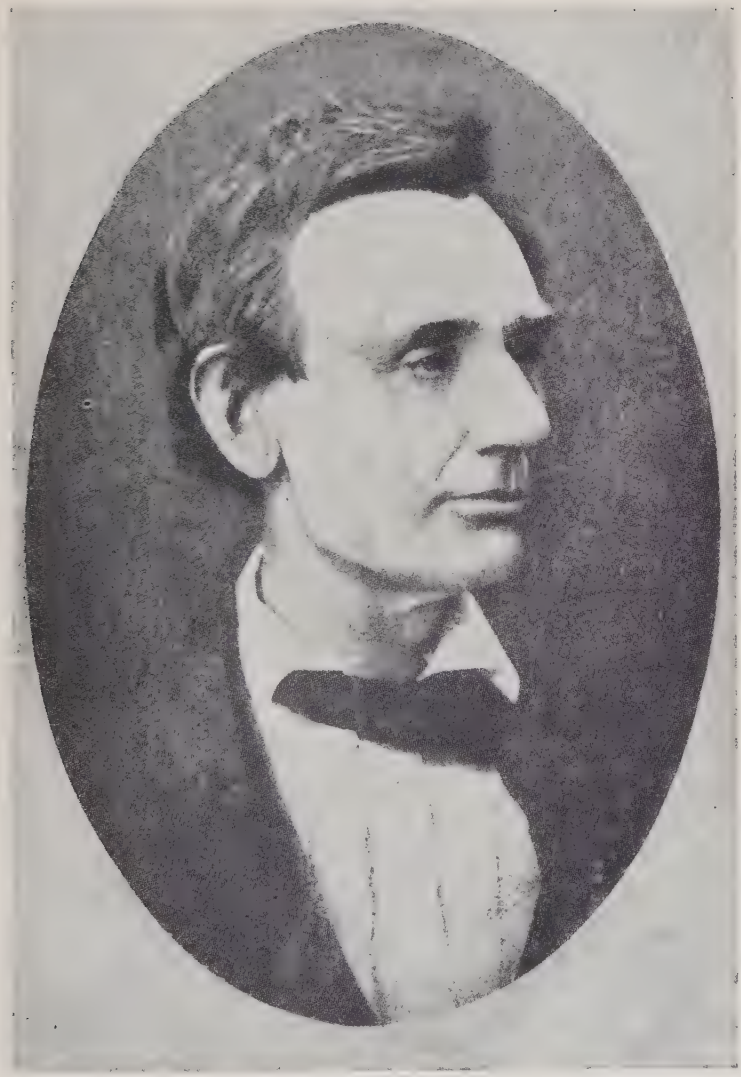
By the opening of 1860 Lincoln had concluded that, though he might not be a very promising candidate, at all events he was now in so deep that he must have the approval of his own state, and he began to work in earnest for that. "I am not in a position where it would hurt much for me to not be nominated on the

national ticket," he wrote to Norman B. Judd, "but I am where it would hurt some for me to not get the Illinois delegates. . . . Can you help me a little in your end of the vineyard?"

The plans of the Lincoln men were well matured. About the first of December, 1859, Medill had gone to Washington, ostensibly as a "Tribune" correspondent, but really to promote Lincoln's nomination. "Before writing any Lincoln letters for the 'Tribune,'" says Mr. Medill in his "Reminiscences," "I began preaching Lincoln among the Congressmen. I urged him chiefly upon the ground of availability in the close and doubtful states, with what seemed like reasonable success."

February 16, 1860, the "Tribune" came out editorially for Lincoln, and Medill followed a few days later with a ringing letter from Washington, naming Lincoln as a candidate on whom both conservatives and radicals could unite, and declaring that he now heard Lincoln's name mentioned for President in Washington "ten times as often as it was one month ago." About the time when Medill was writing thus, Norman B. Judd, as member of the Republican National Committee, was executing a manœuvre the importance of which no one realized but the Illinois politicians. This was securing the convention for Chicago.

As the spring passed and the counties of Illinois held their conventions, Lincoln found that, save in the North, where Seward was strong, he was unanimously recommended as the candidate at Chicago. When the State Convention met at De-



LINCOLN IN 1860.

From a photograph loaned by H. W. Fay of DeKalb, Illinois.

catur, May 9 and 10, he received an ovation of so picturesque and unique a character that it colored all the rest of the campaign. The delegates were in session when Lincoln came in as a spectator and was invited to a seat on the platform. Soon after, Richard Oglesby, one of Lincoln's ardent supporters, asked that an old Democrat of Macon County be allowed to offer a contribution to the convention. The offer was accepted, and a curious banner was borne up the hall, its standard made of two weather-worn fence-rails, decorated with flags and streamers; its inscription read:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE RAIL CANDIDATE

FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860

Two rails from a lot of 3,000 made in 1830 by Thos. Hanks and Abe Lincoln—whose father was the first pioneer of Macon County.

A storm of applause greeted the carrier, followed by cries of "Lincoln! Lincoln!" Rising, Lincoln said, pointing to the banner, "I suppose I am expected to reply to that. I cannot say whether I made those rails or not, but I am quite sure I have made a great many just as good." The speech was warmly applauded, and one delegate, an influential German and an ardent Seward man, George Schneider, turned to his neighbor and said, "Seward has lost the Illinois delegation." He was right; for when, later, John M. Palmer brought in a resolution that "Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican Party of Illinois for the

presidency, and the delegates from this state are instructed to use all honorable means to secure his nomination by the Chicago Convention, and to vote as a unit for him," it was enthusiastically adopted.

While the politicians of Illinois were thus preparing for the campaign, the Republicans of the East hardly realized that Lincoln was or could be made a possibility. In the first four months of 1860 his name was almost unmentioned as a presidential candidate in the public prints of the East. In a list of twenty-one "prominent candidates for the presidency in 1860," prepared by D. W. Bartlett and published in New York towards the end of 1859, Lincoln's name is not mentioned; nor does it appear in a list of thirty-four of "our living representative men," prepared for presidential purposes by John Savage, and published in Philadelphia in 1860. The most important notice at this period of which we know was a casual mention in an editorial in the New York "Evening Post," February 15. The "Post" considered it time for the Republicans to speak out about the nominee at the coming convention, and remarked: "With such men as Seward and Chase, Banks and *Lincoln,* and others in plenty, let us have two Republican representative men to vote for." This was ten days before the Cooper Union speech and the New England tour, which undoubtedly did much to recommend Lincoln as a logical and statesmanlike thinker and debater, though there is no evidence that it created him a presidential following in the East, save, perhaps, in New Hampshire. Indeed it was scarcely to be expected that prudent and conservative men would conclude that, because

he could make a good speech, he would make a good President. They knew him to be comparatively untrained in public life and comparatively untried in large affairs. They naturally preferred a man who had experience and a record of successful statesmanship.

Up to the opening of the convention in May there was, in fact, no specially prominent mention of Lincoln by the eastern press. Greeley, intent on undermining Seward, though as yet nobody perceived him to be so, printed in the "New York Weekly Tribune" —the paper which went to the country at large— correspondence favoring the nomination of Bates and Read, McLean and Bell, Cameron, Frémont, Dayton, Chase, Wade; but not Lincoln. The New York "Herald" of May 1, in discussing editorially the nominee of the "Black Republicans," recognized "four living, two dead, aspirants." The "living" were Seward, Banks, Chase, and Cameron; the "dead," Bates and McLean. May 10 "The Independent," in an editorial on "The Nomination at Chicago," said: "Give us a man known to be true upon the only question that enters into the canvass—a Seward, a Chase, a Wade, a Sumner, a Fessenden, a Banks." But it did not mention Lincoln. His most conspicuous eastern recognition before the convention was in "Harper's Weekly" of May 12, his face being included in a double page of portraits of "eleven prominent candidates for the Republican presidential nomination at Chicago." Brief biographical sketches appeared in the same number—the last and the shortest of them being of Lincoln.

It was on May 16 that the Republican Convention of 1860 formally opened at Chicago, but for days before the city was in a tumult of expectation and preparation. The audacity of inviting a national convention to meet there, in the condition in which Chicago chanced to be at that time, was purely Chicagoan. No other city would have risked it. In ten years Chicago had nearly quadrupled its population, and it was believed that the feat would be repeated in the coming decade. In the first flush of youthful energy and ambition the town had undertaken the colossal task of raising itself bodily out of the grassy marsh, where it had been originally placed, to a level of twelve feet above Lake Michigan, and of putting underneath a good, solid foundation. When the invitation to the convention was extended, half the buildings in Chicago were on stilts; some of the streets had been raised to the new grade, others still lay in the mud; half the sidewalks were poised high on piles, and half were still down on a level with the lake. A city with a conventional sense of decorum would not have cared to be seen in this demoralized condition, but Chicago perhaps conceived that it would but prove her courage and confidence to show the country what she was doing; and so she had the convention come.

But it was not the convention alone which came. Besides the delegates, the professional politicians, the newspaper men, and the friends of the several candidates, there came a motley crowd of men hired to march and to cheer for particular candidates,—a kind of out-of-door *claque* which did not wait for a point

to be made in favor of its man, but went off in rounds of applause at the mere mention of his name. New York brought the greatest number of these professional applauders, the leader of them being a notorious prize-fighter and street politician,—"a sort of white black-bird," says Bromley,—one Tom Hyer. With the New York delegation, which numbered all told fully two thousand Seward men, came Dodworth's Band, one of the celebrated musical organizations of that day.

While New York sent the largest number, Pennsylvania was not far behind, there being about one thousand five hundred persons present from that state. From New England, long as was the distance, there were many trains of excursionists. The New England delegation took Gilmore's Band with it, and from Boston to Chicago stirred up every community in which it stopped with music and speeches. Several days before the convention opened fully one-half of the members of the United States House of Representatives were in the city. To still further increase the throng were hundreds of merely curious spectators whom the flattering inducements of the fifteen railroads centring in Chicago at that time had tempted to take a trip. There were fully forty thousand strangers in the city during the sitting of the convention.

The streets for a week were the forum of this multitude. Processions for Seward, for Cameron, for Chase, for Lincoln, marched and counter-marched, brave with banners and transparencies, and noisy with country bands and hissing rockets. Every street

corner became a rostrum, where impromptu harangues for any of a dozen candidates might be happened upon. In this hurly-burly two figures were particularly prominent: Tom Hyer, who managed the open-air Seward demonstration, and Horace Greeley, who was conducting independently his campaign against Seward. Greeley, in his fervor, talked incessantly. It was only necessary for some one to say in a rough but friendly way, "There's old Greeley," and all within hearing distance grouped about him. Not infrequently the two or three to whom he began speaking increased until that which had started as a conversation ended as a speech.

In this half-spontaneous, half-organized demonstration of the streets, Lincoln's followers were conspicuous. State pride made Chicago feel that she must stand by her own. Lincoln banners floated across every street, and buildings and omnibuses were decorated with Lincoln emblems. When the Illinois delegation saw that New York and Pennsylvania had brought in so many outsiders to create enthusiasm for their respective candidates, they began to call in supporters from the neighboring localities. Leonard Swett says that they succeeded in getting together fully ten thousand men from Illinois and Indiana, ready to march, shout, or fight for Lincoln, as the case required.

Not only was the city full of people days before the convention began, but the delegations had organized and actual work was in progress. Every device conceivable by an ingenious opposition was resorted to in order to weaken Seward, the most formidable of the

candidates. The night before the opening of the convention a great mass meeting was held in the Wigwam. The Seward men had arranged to have only advocates of their own candidate speak. But the clever opposition detected the game, and William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, who was for Lincoln or for Wade, got the floor and held it until nearly midnight, doggedly talking against time until an audience of twelve thousand had dwindled to less than one thousand.

One of the first of the delegations to begin activities was that of Illinois. The Tremont House had been chosen as its headquarters, and here were gathered almost all the influential friends Lincoln had in the state. They came determined to win if human effort could compass it, and men never put more intense and persistent energy into a cause. Judge Davis was naturally the head of the body; but Judge Logan, Leonard Swett, John M. Palmer, Richard Oglesby, N. B. Judd, Jesse W. Fell, and a score more were with him. "We worked like nailers," Governor Oglesby often declared in after years.

The effort for Lincoln had to begin in the Illinois delegation itself. In spite of the rail episode at Decatur, the state convention was by no means unanimous for Lincoln.

"Our delegation was instructed for him," wrote Leonard Swett to Josiah Drummond,* "but of the twenty-two votes in

* This letter, written by Mr. Swett on May 27, 1860, to Josiah Drummond of Maine, is one of the best documents on the convention. It was published in the New York "Sun" of July 26, 1891, and is printed in O. H. Oldroyd's "Lincoln's Campaign."

it, by incautiously selecting the men, there were *eight* who would have gladly gone for Seward. The reason of this is in this fact: the northern counties of this state are more overwhelmingly Republican than any other portion of the continent. I could pick twenty-five contiguous counties giving larger Republican majorities than any other adjacent counties in any state. The result is, many people there are for Seward, and such men had crept upon the delegation. They intended in good faith to go for Lincoln, but talked despondently, and really wanted and expected finally to vote as I have indicated. We had also in the north and about Chicago a class of men who always want to turn up on the winning side, and who would do no work, although their feelings were really for us, for fear it would be the losing element and would place them out of favor with the incoming power. These men were dead weights. The centre and south, with many individual exceptions to the classes I have named, were warmly for Lincoln, whether he won or lost.

"The lawyers of our circuit went there determined to leave no stone unturned; and really they, aided by some of our state officers and a half dozen men from various portions of the state, were the only tireless, sleepless, unwavering, and ever vigilant friends he had."

The situation which the Illinois delegation faced, briefly put, was this: the Republican Party had in 1860 but one prominent candidate, William H. Seward. By virtue of his great talents, his superior cultivation, and his splendid services in anti-slavery agitation, he was the choice of the majority of the Republican Party. It was certain that at the opening of the convention he would have nearly enough votes to nominate him. But still there was a considerable and resolute opposition. The grounds of this were several, but the most substantial and convincing

was that Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey all declared that they could not elect Seward if he was nominated. Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Henry S. Lane of Indiana, candidates for governor in their respective states, were both his active opponents, not from dislike of him, but because they were convinced that they would themselves be defeated if he headed the Republican ticket. It was clear to the entire party that Pennsylvania and Indiana were essential to Republican success; and since many states with which Seward was the first choice held success in November as more important than Seward, they were willing to give their support to an "available" man. But the difficulty was to unite this opposition. Nearly every state which considered Seward an unsafe candidate had a "favorite son" whom it was pushing as "available." Pennsylvania wanted Cameron; New Jersey, Dayton; Ohio, Chase, McLean, or Wade; Massachusetts, Banks; Vermont, Collamer. Greeley, who alone was as influential as a state delegation, urged Bates of Missouri.

Illinois's task was to unite this opposition on Lincoln. She began her work with a next-door neighbor. "The first state approached," says Mr. Swett, "was Indiana. She was about equally divided between Bates and McLean.* Saturday, Sunday, and Monday were spent upon her, when finally she came to us, unitedly, with twenty-six votes, and from that time acted efficiently with us."

With Indiana to aid her, Illinois now succeeded in

* Mr. Joseph Medill once told the writer that half the Indiana delegation had been won for Lincoln on the ground of availability before the convention met.

drawing a few scattering votes, in making an impression on New Hampshire and Virginia, and in persuading Vermont to think of Lincoln as a second choice. Matters began to look decidedly cheerful. May 14 (Monday) the New York "Herald's" last despatch declared that the contest had narrowed down to Seward, Lincoln, and Wade. The Boston "Herald's" despatch of the same day reported: "Abe Lincoln is booming up to-night as a compromise candidate, and his friends are in high spirits." And this was the situation when the convention finally opened on Wednesday, May 16.

The assembly-room in which the convention met was situated conveniently at the corner of Market and Lake Streets. It had been built especially for the occasion by the Chicago Republican Club, and in the fashion of the West in that day was called by the indigenous name of Wigwam. It was a low, characterless structure, fully one hundred and eighty feet long by one hundred feet wide. The roof rose in the segment of a circle, so that one side was higher than the other; and across this side and the two ends were deep galleries. Facing the ungalleried side was a platform reserved for the delegates—a great floor one hundred and forty feet long and thirty-five feet deep, raised some four feet from the ground level, with committee-rooms at each end. This vast structure of pine boards had been rescued from ugliness by the energetic efforts of the committee, assisted by the Republican women of the city, who, scarcely less interested than their husbands and brothers, strove in

every way to contribute to the success of the convention. They wreathed the pillars and the galleries with masses of green, with banners and flags; brought in busts of American notables; hung great allegorical paintings of Justice, Liberty, and the like, on the walls; borrowed the whole series of Healy portraits of

CHAIR OCCUPIED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1860.

It was the first chair made in the State of Michigan.—Reproduced from "Harper's Weekly" of May 19, 1860, by permission of Messrs. Harper and Brothers.

American statesmen—in short, made the Wigwam gay and festive. Foreign interest added something to the furnishings; the chair placed on the platform for the use of the chairman of the convention was donated by Michigan, the first chair made in that state. It was an arm-chair of the most primitive description, the seat dug out of an immense log and mounted on large rockers. Another chair, one made for the occasion, attracted a great deal of attention. It was constructed of thirty-four kinds of wood, each piece from

a different state or territory, Kansas being appropriately represented by the "weeping willow" a symbol of her grief at being still excluded from the sisterhood of states. The gavel used by the chairman was more interesting even than his chair, having been made from a fragment of Commodore Perry's brave *Lawrence*.

Into the Wigwam, on the morning of the 16th of May, there crowded fully ten thousand persons. To the spectator in the gallery the scene was vividly picturesque and animated. Around him were packed hundreds of women, gay in the high-peaked, flower-filled bonnets and the bright shawls and plaids of the day. Below, on the platform and floor, were many of the notable men of the United States—William M. Evarts, Thomas Corwin, Carl Schurz, David Wilmot, Thaddeus Stevens, Joshua Giddings, George William Curtis, Francis P. Blair and his two sons, Andrew H. Reeder, George Ashmun, Gideon Welles, Preston King, Cassius M. Clay, Gratz Brown, George S. Boutwell, Thurlow Weed. In the multitude the newspaper representatives outnumbered the delegates. Fully nine hundred editors and reporters were present, a body scarcely less interesting than the convention itself. Horace Greeley, Samuel Bowles, Murat Halstead, Isaac H. Bromley, Joseph Medill, Horace White, Joseph Hawley, Henry Villard, A. K. McClure, historic names in American journalism, represented various newspapers at Chicago in 1860, and in some cases were active workers in the caucuses. It was evident at once that the members of the conven-

THE "WIGWAM," CHICAGO THE BUILDING IN WHICH THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860 WAS HELD.

tion—some five hundred out of the attendant ten thousand—were not more interested in its proceedings than the spectators, whose approval and disapproval, quickly and emphatically expressed, swayed, and to a degree controlled the delegates. Wednesday and Thursday mornings were passed in the usual opening work of a convention. While officers were formally elected and a platform adopted, the real interest centred in the caucuses, which were held almost uninterruptedly. Illinois was in a frenzy of anxiety. "No men ever worked as our boys did," wrote Mr. Swett; "I did not, the whole week, sleep two hours a night." They ran from delegation to delegation, haranguing, pleading, promising. But do their best they could not concentrate the opposition. "Our great struggle," says Senator Palmer, "was to prevent Lincoln's nomination for the vice-presidency. The Seward men were perfectly willing that he should go on the tail of the ticket. In fact, they seemed determined that he should be given the vice-presidential nomination. We were not troubled so much by the antagonism of the Seward men as by the overtures they were constantly making to us. They literally overwhelmed us with kindness. Judge David Davis came to me in the Tremont House, greatly agitated at the way things were going. He said: 'Palmer, you must go with me at once to see the New Jersey delegation.' I asked what I could do. 'Well,' said he, 'there is a grave and venerable judge over there who is insisting that Lincoln shall be nominated for Vice-President and Seward for President.

We must convince the judge of his mistake.' We went; I was introduced to the gentleman, and we talked about the matter for some time. He praised Seward, but he was especially effusive in expressing his admiration for Lincoln. He thought that Seward was clearly entitled to first place and that Lincoln's eminent merits entitled him to second place. I listened for some time, and then said: 'Sir, you may nominate Mr. Lincoln for Vice-President if you please. But I want you to understand that there are 40,000 Democrats in Illinois who will support this ticket if you give them an opportunity. We are not Whigs, and we never expect to be Whigs. We will never consent to support two old Whigs on this ticket. We are willing to vote for Mr. Lincoln with a Democrat on the ticket, but we will not consent to vote for two Whigs.' I have seldom seen a more indignant man. Turning to Judge Davis he said: 'Judge Davis, is it possible that party spirit so prevails in Illinois that Judge Palmer properly represents public opinion?' 'Oh,' said Davis, affecting some distress at what I had said, 'oh, Judge, you can't account for the conduct of these old Locofocos.' 'Will they do as Palmer says?' 'Certainly. There are 40,000 of them, and, as Palmer says, not one of them will vote for two Whigs.' We left the New Jersey member in a towering rage. When we were back at the Tremont House I said: 'Davis, you are an infernal rascal to sit there and hear that man berate me as he did. You really seemed to encourage him.' Judge Davis said nothing, but chuckled as if he had greatly enjoyed the joke. This incident is illustrative of the kind of work

we had to do. We were compelled to resort to this argument—that the old Democrats then ready to affiliate with the Republican Party would not tolerate two Whigs on the ticket—in order to break up the movement to nominate Lincoln for Vice-President. The Seward men recognized in Lincoln their most formidable rival, and that was why they wished to get him out of the way by giving him second place on the ticket."

The uncertainty on Thursday was harrowing, and if the ballot had been taken on the afternoon of that day, as was at first intended, Seward probably would have been nominated. Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania all felt this, and shrewdly managed to secure from the convention a reluctant adjournment until Friday morning. In spite of the time this manœuvre gave, however, Seward's nomination seemed sure; so Greeley telegraphed the "Tribune" at midnight on Thursday. At the same hour the correspondent of the "Herald" (New York) telegraphed: "The friends of Seward are firm, and claim ninety votes for him on the first ballot. Opposition to Seward not fixed on any man. Lincoln is the strongest, and may have altogether forty votes. The various delegations are still caucusing."

It was after these messages were sent that Illinois and Indiana summoned all their energies for a final desperate effort to unite the uncertain delegates on Lincoln, and that Pennsylvania went through the last violent throes of coming to a decision. The night was one of dramatic episodes of which none, perhaps, was more nearly tragic than the spectacle of Seward's

followers, confident of success, celebrating in advance the nomination of their favorite, while scores of determined men laid the plans ultimately effective, for his overthrow. All night the work was kept up. "Hundreds of Pennsylvanians, Indianians, and Illinoisans," says Murat Halstead, "never closed their eyes. I saw Henry S. Lane at one o'clock, pale and haggard, with cane under his arm, walking as if for a wager from one caucus-room to another at the Tremont House. In connection with them he had been operating to bring the Vermonters and Virginians to the point of deserting Seward."

In the Pennsylvania delegation, which on Wednesday had agreed on McLean as its second choice and Lincoln as its third, a hot struggle was waged to secure the vote of the delegation *as a unit* for Cameron until a majority of the delegates directed otherwise. Judge S. Newton Pettis, who proposed this resolution, worked all night to secure votes for it at the caucus to be held early in the morning. The Illinois men ran from delegate to caucus, from editor to outsider. No man who knew Lincoln and believed in him, indeed, was allowed to rest, but was dragged away to this or that delegate to persuade him that the "rail candidate," as Lincoln had already begun to be called, was fit for the place. Colonel Hoyt, then a resident of Chicago, spent half the night telling Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania what he knew of Lincoln. While all this was going on, a committee of twelve men from Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa were consulting in the upper story of the Tremont House. Before their session

was over they had agreed that in case Lincoln's votes reached a specified number on the following day, the votes of the states represented in that meeting, so far as these twelve men could effect the result, should be given to him.

The night was over at last, and at ten o'clock the convention reassembled. The great Wigwam was packed with a throng hardly less excited than the members of the actual convention, while without, for blocks away, a crowd double that within pushed and strained, every nerve alert to catch the movements of the convention.

The nominations began at once, the Hon. William M. Evarts presenting the name of William H. Seward. The New Yorkers had prepared a tremendous *claque,* which now broke forth—"a deafening shout which," says Leonard Swett, "I confess, appalled us a little." But New York in preparing her *claque* had only given an idea to Illinois. The Illinois committee, to offset it, had made secret but complete preparations for what was called a "spontaneous demonstration." From lake front to prairie the committee had collected every stentorian voice known, and early Friday morning, while Seward's men were marching exultantly about the streets, the owners of these voices had been packed into the Wigwam, where their special endowment would be most effective. The women present had been requested to wave their handkerchiefs at every mention of Lincoln's name, and hundreds of flags had been distributed to be used in the same way. A series of signals had been arranged to communicate to the thousands

without the moment when a roar from them might influence the convention within. When N. B. Judd nominated Lincoln this machinery began to work. It did well; but a moment later, in greeting the seconding of Seward's nomination, New York out-bellowed Illinois. "Caleb B. Smith of Indiana then seconded the nomination of Lincoln," says Mr. Swett, "and the West came to his rescue. No mortal ever before saw such a scene. The idea of us Hoosiers and Suckers being outscreamed would have been as bad to them as the loss of their man. Five thousand people at once leaped to their seats, women not wanting in the number, and the wild yell made soft vesper breathings of all that had preceded. No language can describe it. A thousand steam whistles, ten acres of hotel gongs, a tribe of Comanches, headed by a choice vanguard from pandemonium, might have mingled in the scene unnoticed."

As the roar died out a voice cried, "Abe Lincoln has it by the sound now; let us ballot!" and Judge Logan, beside himself with screeching and excitement, called out: "Mr. President, in order or out of order, I propose this convention and audience give three cheers for the man who is evidently their nominee."

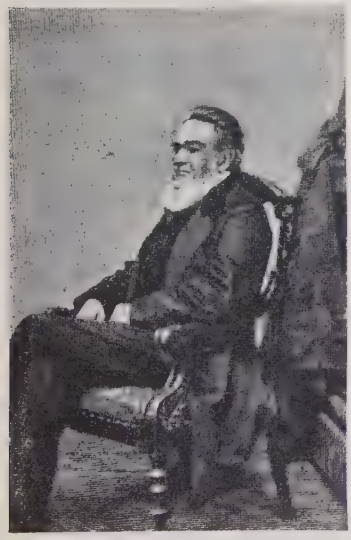
The balloting followed without delay. The Illinois men believed they had one hundred votes to start with; on counting they found they had 102. More hopeful still, no other opposition candidate approached them. Pennsylvania's man, according to the printed reports of that day, had but fifty and one-half votes; Greeley's man, forty-eight; Chase, forty-nine; while McLean, Pennsylvania's second choice, had but

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Seward's name was presented to the Chicago convention of 1860, which finally nominated Lincoln, by William M. Evarts of New York. On the first ballot he received 173½ votes, on the second 184½, on the third 180: 234 votes were necessary for a choice.

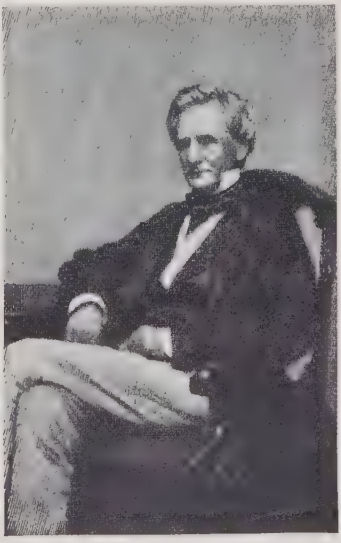
SALMON P. CHASE.

Chase's name was presented to the Chicago convention of 1860 by D. K. Cartter of Ohio. On the first ballot he received 49 votes, on the second 42½, on the third 24½.



EDWARD BATES.

F. P. Blair of Missouri nominated Mr. Bates in the Chicago convention. He received on the first ballot 48 votes, on the second 35, and on the third 22. At Lincoln's inauguration as President in March, 1861, Bates became a member of his cabinet, as did also three other of his competitors for the nomination in the convention of 1860—Seward, Chase and Cameron.



SIMON CAMERON.

Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania presented Cameron's name to the Chicago convention. On the first ballot he received 50½ votes. On the second ballot his name was withdrawn, although two votes were cast for him. He received no votes on the third ballot.

twelve. If Seward was to be beaten, it must be now; and it was for Pennsylvania to say. The delegation hurried to a committee-room, where Judge Pettis, disregarding the action of the caucus by which McLean had been adopted as the delegation's second choice, moved that, on the second ballot, Pennsylvania's vote be cast solidly for Lincoln. The motion was carried. Returning to the hall the delegation found the second ballot under way. In a moment the name of Pennsylvania was called. The whole Wigwam heard the answer: "Pennsylvania casts her fifty-two votes for Abraham Lincoln." The meaning was clear. The break to Lincoln had begun. New York sat as if stupefied, while all over the hall cheer followed cheer.

It seemed but a moment before the second ballot was ended, and it was known that Lincoln's vote had risen from 102 to 181. The tension as the third ballot was taken was almost unbearable. A hundred pencils kept score while the delegations were called, and it soon became apparent that Lincoln was outstripping Seward. The last vote was hardly given before the whisper went around, "Two hundred and thirty-one and one-half for Lincoln; two and one-half more will give him the nomination." An instant of silence followed, in which the convention grappled with the idea and tried to pull itself together to act. The chairman of the Ohio delegation was the first to get his breath. "Mr. President," he cried, springing on his chair and stretching out his arm to secure recognition, "I rise to change four votes from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln."

It took a moment to realize the truth. New York

saw it, and the white faces of her noble delegation were bowed in despair. Greeley saw it, and a guileless smile spread over his features as he watched Thurlow Weed press his hand hard against his wet eyelids. Illinois saw it, and tears poured from the eyes of more than one of the overwrought, devoted men as they grasped one another's hands and vainly struggled against the sobs which kept back their shouts. The crowd saw it, and broke out in a mad hurrah. "The scene which followed," wrote one spectator, "baffles all human description. After an instant's silence, as deep as death, which seemed to be required to enable the assembly to take in the full force of the announcement, the wildest and mightiest yell (for it can be called by no other name) burst forth from ten thousand voices which we ever heard from mortal throats. This strange and tremendous demonstration, accompanied with leaping up and down, tossing hats, handkerchiefs, and canes recklessly into the air, with the waving of flags, and with every other conceivable mode of exultant and unbridled joy, continued steadily and without pause for perhaps ten minutes.

"It then began to rise and fall in slow and billowing bursts, and for perhaps the next five minutes these stupendous waves of uncontrollable excitement, now rising into the deepest and fiercest shouts, and then sinking like the ground swell of the ocean into hoarse and lessening murmurs, rolled through the multitude. Every now and then it would seem as though the physical power of the assembly was exhausted and that quiet would be restored, when all at once a new hurricane would break out, more pro-

longed and terrific than anything before. If sheer exhaustion had not prevented, we don't know but the applause would have continued to this hour."

Without, the scene was repeated. At the first instant of realization in the Wigwam a man on the platform had shouted to a man stationed on the roof, "Hallelujah! Abe Lincoln is nominated!" A cannon boomed the news to the multitude below, and twenty thousand throats took up the cry. The city heard it, and one hundred guns on the Tremont House, innumerable whistles on the river and lake front, on locomotives and factories, and the bells in all the steeples broke forth. For twenty-four hours the clamor never ceased. It spread to the prairies, and before morning they were afire with pride and excitement.

And while all this went on, where was Lincoln? Too much of a candidate, as he had told Swett, to go to Chicago, yet hardly enough of one to stay away, he had ended by remaining in Springfield, where he spent the week in restless waiting and discussion. He drifted about the public square, went often to the telegraph office, looked out for every returning visitor from Chicago, played occasional games of ball, made fruitless efforts to read, went home at unusual hours. He felt in his bones that he had a fighting chance, so he told a friend, but the chance was not so strong that he could indulge in much exultation. By Friday morning he was tired and depressed, but still eager for news. One of his friends, the Hon. James C. Conkling, returned early in the day from Chicago, and Lincoln soon went around to his law office. "Upon enter-

ing," says Mr. Conkling, "Lincoln threw himself upon the office lounge and remarked rather wearily, 'Well, I guess I'll go back to practising law.' As he lay there on the lounge, I gave him such information as I had been able to obtain. I told him the tendency was to drop Seward; that the outlook for him was very encouraging. He listened attentively, and thanked me, saying I had given him a clearer idea of the situation than he had been able to get from any other source. He was not very sanguine of the result. He did not express the opinion that he would be nominated."

But he could not be quiet and soon left Mr. Conkling to join the throng around the telegraph office, where the reports from the convention were coming in. The nominations were being reported, his own among the others. Then news came that the balloting had begun. He could not endure to wait for the result. He remembered a commission his wife had given him that morning and started across the square to execute it. His errand was done, and he was standing in the door of the shop, talking, when a shout went up from the group at the telegraph office. The next instant an excited boy came rushing pell-mell down the stairs of the office, and, plunging through the crowd, ran across the square, shouting, "Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln, you are nominated!" The cry was repeated on all sides. The people came flocking about him, half laughing, half crying, shaking his hand when they could get it, and one another's when they could not. For a few minutes, carried away by excitement, Lincoln seemed simply one of the proud and exultant

JESSE W. FELL.

Mr. Fell, a Pennsylvanian by birth, settled in Bloomington, Illinois. Here he became acquainted with Lincoln, who was frequently in the town during court terms. He was one of the first Republicans of the State; he first introduced Lincoln's name in Pennsylvania as a candidate for the Presidency, and it was to him that Lincoln addressed his well-known autobiography.

From a photograph by Sarony, N. Y.

HORACE GREELEY.

In the Republican national convention of 1860 Horace Greeley sat as the alternate of an absent delegate from Oregon. He had failed to be chosen as a delegate from his own State (New York), through the opposition of the Seward men. As editor of the New York "Tribune," it was supposed, until a short time before the convention, that he would support Seward for the nomination to the Presidency, but he turned against Seward on the plea that he could not be elected. In the convention he labored ardently for Bates.

crowd. Then remembering what it all meant, he said, "My friends, I am glad to receive your congratulations, and as there is a little woman down on Eighth Street who will be glad to hear the news, you must excuse me until I inform her." He slipped away, telegram in hand, his coat-tails flying out behind, and strode towards home, only to find when he reached there that his friends were before him, and that the "little woman" already knew that the honor which for twenty years and more she had believed and stoutly declared her husband deserved, and which a great multitude of men had sworn to do their best to obtain for him, at last had come.

CHAPTER XX

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860

THIRTY-SIX hours after Lincoln received the news of his nomination, an evening train from Chicago brought to Springfield a company of distinguished-looking strangers. As they stepped from their coach cannon were fired, rockets set off, bands played, and enthusiastic cheering went up from a crowd of waiting people. A long and noisy procession accompanied them to their hotel and later to a modest two-storied house in an unfashionable part of the town. The gentlemen whom the citizens of Springfield received with such demonstration formed the committee sent by the Republican National Convention to notify Abraham Lincoln that he had been nominated as its candidate for the presidency of the United States.

The delegation had in its number some of the most distinguished workers of the Republican Party of that day:—Mr. George Ashmun, Samuel Bowles, and Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts, William M. Evarts of New York, Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania, David K. Carter of Ohio, Francis P. Blair of Missouri, the Hon. Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Amos Tuck of New Hampshire, Carl Schurz of Wisconsin. Only a few of these gentlemen had ever seen Mr. Lincoln and to many of them his nomination had been a bitter disappointment.

As the committee filed into Mr. Lincoln's simple home there was a sore misgiving in more than one heart, and as Mr. Ashmun, their chairman, presented to him the letter notifying him of his nomination they eyed their candidate with critical keenness. They noted his great height, his huge hands and feet, his peculiar lankness of limb. His shoulders drooped as he stood, giving his form a look of irresolution. His smooth-shaven face seemed of bronze as he listened to their message and amazed them by its ruggedness. The cheeks were sunken, the cheek bones high, the nose large, the mouth unsymmetrical, the under lip protruding a little. Irregular seams and lines cut and creased the skin in every direction. The eyes, downcast as he listened, were sunken and somber. Shaded by its mass of dark hair, the face gave an impression of a sad impenetrable man.

Mr. Ashmun finished his speech and Mr. Lincoln, lifting his bent head, began to reply. The men who watched him thrilled with surprise at the change which passed over him. His drooping form became erect and firm. The eyes beamed with fire and intelligence. Strong, dignified and self-possessed, he seemed transformed by the act of self-expression.

His remarks were brief, merely a word of thanks for the honor done him, a hint that he felt the responsibility of his position, a promise to respond formally in writing and the expression of a desire to take each one of the committee by hand, but his voice was calm and clear, his bearing frank and sure. His auditors saw in a flash that here was a man who was master of himself. For the first time they understood

that he whom they had supposed to be little more than a loquacious and clever state politician, had force, insight, conscience, that their misgivings were vain. "Why, sir, they told me he was a rough diamond," said Governor Boutwell to one of Lincoln's townsmen; "nothing could have been in better taste than that speech." And a delegate who had voted against Lincoln in the convention, turning to Carl Schurz, said, "Sir, we might have done a more daring thing, but we certainly could not have done a better thing," and it was with that feeling that the delegation, two hours later, left Mr. Lincoln's home, and it was that report they carried to their constituents.

But one more formality now remained to complete the ceremony of Abraham Lincoln's nomination to the presidency,—his letter of acceptance. This was soon written. The candidates of the opposing parties all sent out letters of acceptance in 1860 which were almost political platforms in themselves. Lincoln decided to make his acceptance merely an expression of his intention to stand by the party's declaration of principles. He held himself rigidly to this decision, his first address to the Republican Party being scarcely one hundred and fifty words in length. Though so short, it was prepared with painstaking attention. He even carried it when it was finished to a Springfield friend, Dr. Newton Bateman, the State Superintendent of Education, for correction.

"Mr. Schoolmaster," he said, "here is my letter of acceptance; I am not very strong on grammar and I wish you to see if it is all right. I wouldn't like to have any mistakes in it."

The doctor took the manuscript and, after reading it, said:

"There is only one change I should suggest, Mr. Lincoln; you have written 'It shall be my care *to not* violate or disregard it in any part'; you should have written 'not to violate.' Never split an infinitive, is the rule."

Mr. Lincoln took the manuscript, regarding it a moment with a puzzled air, "So you think I better put those two little fellows end to end, do you?" he said as he made the change.

His nomination an accomplished fact, the all-important question for Mr. Lincoln was "Can I be elected?" Six months before when he had asked himself, "Can I be nominated?" he had been forced to reply, "Not probable." Even the very morning of the nomination he had said despondently to a friend, "I guess I'll go back to practising law," but now when he asked himself, "Can I be elected?" the answer he gave was far from uncertain. With the tables of the popular vote since 1856 before him he reckoned his chances. Twenty-four states out of the thirty-three which then formed the Union had taken part in the Chicago Convention. These twenty-four states held 234 of the 303 electoral votes to be cast. On how many of them could he depend? In 1856 the first time the party had appeared in a presidential contest it had secured for Frémont eleven states,* 114 electoral votes. On these Lincoln felt he still could count. But that was not enough, nor was it all the Republi-

* The states which went for Frémont in 1856 were Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

cans claimed. The growth of the party had been steady and vigorous since 1856. The whole country saw that if the Chicago Convention chose a presidential candidate acceptable to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois, those states would certainly go Republican. Lincoln added their votes to the 114 of the certain states. It gave him 169—a respectable majority of the 303 which the electoral college would cast.

The tables were in his favor; but that was not all in the situation which encouraged him. Lincoln saw that, as his nomination in Chicago had been largely the result of disagreement among the Republicans, so there was a possibility of his election being the result of quarrels among the Democrats. The National Democratic Convention had met in Charleston, South Carolina, on April 23. From the opening, the sessions were stormy. One vital difference divided the body. The South was determined that a platform should be adopted stating unequivocally that slaves could be carried into the territories and that neither Congressional nor territorial legislation could interfere with them. The Democracy of the North was determined to adopt a platform in which Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty was the central plank. The time had been when the South had been thoroughly satisfied with the Douglas theory; that it was not so now was due largely to Lincoln. He had discovered that Douglas in presenting his attractive dogma that the people of the states should be left to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the Constitution, gave one interpreta-

tion in the South, another in the North. Knowing that Illinois would never consent to the doctrine as the South understood it, nor the South to the Northern notion, Lincoln forced Douglas in 1858 in a debate at Freeport, Illinois, to explain his meaning. Illinois was satisfied with the explanation, but the South saw the deceit. From the day of the Freeport Debate Douglas's power in the South declined. When the Charleston Convention met the Southern Democrats were fully determined to defeat the man who had so nearly persuaded them to a doctrine which he interpreted according to the prejudices of the section in which he spoke. When a Douglas platform was adopted by the convention they withdrew. The upshot of this secession was that the two factions called fresh conventions to meet in Baltimore in June. There the Northern Democracy nominated as its candidates Douglas and Johnson. A few days later the Southern Democrats named Breckinridge and Lane.

Thus when Lincoln was nominated his opponents were divided. The opposition to him was still further weakened by the appearance of a sporadic party, the Constitutional Union, which in a vague and general platform shirked the very precise and vital question at issue and declared finely for "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws." This party nominated Bell and Everett, known as the "Kangaroo Ticket" because "the hind part was the stronger."

The tables were in his favor. If his own party stood by him, he felt sure of his election. There was every sign that it would. "So far as I can learn," he

wrote his friend Washburne a few days after the convention, "the nominations start well everywhere; and, if they get no back-set, it would seem as if they were going through."

The "start" of the nominations had in fact been very good. Nothing more jubilant could have been conceived than the reception given Lincoln's name in the Northwest. "There won't be a tar barrel left in Illinois to-night," said Douglas, in Washington, to his senatorial friends, who asked him when the news of the nomination reached them, "Who is this man Lincoln, anyhow?" Douglas was right. Not only the tar barrels but half the fences of the state went up in the fire of rejoicing.

The demonstrations in the Middle States and in the East were hardly less exultant. There was a striking difference in them, however. In the Northwest it was the candidate, in the rest of the country the platform and the probability of its success, which inspired the popular outbursts. And this was inevitable, so little was Lincoln known outside of his own part of the country. The orators at the ratification meetings of the East found it necessary to look up his history to tell their audiences who he was. The newspapers printed biographical sketches, and very meagre ones they were; for up to this time almost no details of his life had been published. These facts filled many a serious-minded Republican with dismay. To them there seemed but one explanation for the choice of Lincoln over the heads of so many more experienced and distinguished men—it had been a political trick born of the sentiment, "Anything to beat

Seward." "I remember," says a Republican of 1860, "that when I first read the news on a bulletin board as I came down street in Philadelphia that I experienced a moment of intense physical pain; it was as though some one had dealt me a heavy blow over the head, then my strength failed me. I believed our cause was doomed."

The opposition press found in Lincoln's obscurity abundant editorial material. He was a "third-rate country lawyer, poorer even than poor Pierce," said the New York "Herald." Of course, he would be a "nullity" if he were elected. How could a man be otherwise who had never done anything but deliver a few lectures and get himself beaten by Douglas in the campaign of '58. They hooted at his "coarse and clumsy jokes," declared that he "could not speak good grammar," and that all he was really distinguished for was rail-splitting, running a "broad-horn," and bearing the sobriquet of "honest old Abe." The snobbishness of the country came out in full. He was not a gentleman; that is, he did not know how to wear clothes, perhaps sat at times in shirt sleeves, tilted back his chair. He could quote neither Latin nor Greek, had never travelled, had no pedigree.

The Republican press took up the gauntlet. To the charge that he would be a "nullity" the "Tribune" replied, "A man who by his own genius and force of character has raised himself from being a penniless and uneducated flat boatman on the Wabash River to the position Mr. Lincoln now occupies is not likely to be a nullity anywhere." And Bryant answered all the sneering by a noble editorial in which he

claimed Mr. Lincoln to be "A Real Representative Man."

Nevertheless the eagerness with which the Republican press hastened to show that Lincoln was not the coarse backwoodsman the Democrats painted him showed how much they winced under the charges. Reporters were sent West to describe his home, his family, and his habits, in order to prove that he did not live in "low Hoosier style." They told with great satisfaction that he wore daily a broadcloth suit "almost elegant," they described his modest home as a "mansion" and "an elegant two-story dwelling" and they never failed to note that Mrs. Lincoln spoke French fluently and that he had a son in Harvard College. When they could with reasonable certainty connect him with the Lincolns of Hingham, Mass., they heralded his "good blood" with pride and marshalled the Lincolns who had distinguished themselves in the history of the country.

Among the common people the jeers that Lincoln was but a rail-splitter was a spur to enthusiasm. Too many of the solid men of the North had swung an axe, too many of them had passed from log hut to mansion, not to blaze with sympathetic indignation when the party was taunted with nominating a backwoodsman. The rail became their emblem and their rallying cry, and the story of the rail fence Lincoln had built a feature of every campaign speech and every country store discussion. In a week after his nomination two rails declared to have been split by Lincoln were on exhibition in New York, and certain zealous Pennsylvanians had sent to Macon, Ill., ask-

ing to buy the whole fence and have it shipped East. It was the rail which decorated campaign medals, inspired campaign songs, appeared in campaign cartoons. There was something more than a desire to "stand by the candidate" in the enthusiasm. At bottom it was a popular vindication of the American way of making a man.

More important to Lincoln than any popular enthusiasm was the ratification given his nomination by the rival candidates. What would they do? The whole party held its breath until Seward was heard from. No man could have taken a crushing defeat more wisely. He was at his home in Auburn, New York, on May 18, the day of the nomination, and when the news of Lincoln's success was brought him, his informer told him that there was not a Republican to be found in the town who had the heart left to write an editorial for the "Daily Advertiser" approving the nomination. Seward smilingly took his pen and wrote the following paragraph, which appeared that evening:—

"No truer exposition of the Republican creed could be given than the platform adopted by the convention contains. No truer or firmer defenders of the Republican faith could have been found in the Union than the distinguished and esteemed citizens on whom the honors of the nomination have fallen. Their election, we trust by a decisive majority, will restore the Government of the U. S. to its Constitutional and ancient course. Let the watchword of the Republican Party be 'Union and Liberty,' and onward to victory."

A few days later Seward went to Washington where a number of disappointed and rebellious Re-

publicans called upon him to offer their condolence. "Mr. Seward," they said, "we cannot accept this situation. We want you to bolt the nomination and run on an independent ticket."

Mr. Seward smiled: "Gentlemen," he said, "your zeal outruns your discretion. There are many of you giving this advice now, say, perhaps three hundred. Two weeks hence there would be one hundred and fifty and the next week fifty. After that only William H. Seward. No, gentlemen, the Republican Party was not made for William H. Seward, but Mr. Seward, if he is worth anything, for the Republican Party, and I believe I have still work to do, I must therefore decline to accept your advice. I have had some experience of this kind. I ran once as a candidate for the nomination to the governorship of New York; I was defeated; my friends wanted me to bolt and run independently, but I declined. My opponent who had received the nomination, was defeated in the election. I would have been defeated. Another year I did receive the nomination and I was elected, but if I had consented in the first place to bolt the regular nominee I would never have received the nomination regularly a second time and so would never have been Governor of New York."*

Seward wrote Lincoln very soon congratulating him and promising support. So did the other leading rivals. The letters were grateful to Lincoln. "Holding myself the humblest of all those whose names were before the convention," he wrote Chase, "I feel in

* The Hon. H. L. Dawes in interview corrected by him and published with his permission.

special need of the assistance of all; and I am glad—very glad—of the indication that you stand ready."

With these congratulations and promises of support from his rivals came others from men not less known. Joshua Giddings wrote Lincoln an admirable letter on May 19:

"Dear Lincoln: You're nominated. You will be elected. After your election, thousands will crowd around you, claiming rewards for services rendered. I, too, have my claims upon you. I have not worked for your nomination, nor for that of any other man. I have labored for the establishment of principles; and when men came to me asking my opinion of you, I only told them, 'Lincoln is an honest man.' All I ask of you in return for my services is, *make my statement good through your administration.* Yours, GIDDINGS."

Lincoln soon saw that not only the strong men of his party were supporting him, but that they were working harmoniously in an excellent organization. The Republicans all agreed with the "Tribune" that "the election of Mr. Lincoln though it could not be accomplished without work, was eminently a thing that could be done," and they set themselves vigorously to do it. As the party was composed largely of young men who felt that the cause was worthy of their best efforts, great zest and ingenuity were thrown into the campaigning. Arrangements were immediately made for a systematic stumping of the whole country. The speakers engaged were of a high order, among them Sumner, Seward, Chase, Cassius M. Clay, Greeley, Stevens. Many of the speeches were of more than usual dramatic interest. Such was

Sumner's great speech at Cooper Institute, July 11, on "The Origin, Necessity and Permanence of the Republican Party." It was the first speech Sumner had made in public since the attack on him in the Senate in 1856, and attracted immense attention. Seward made a five weeks' trip through the West, often speaking several times a day. No one worked harder than Carl Schurz. "I began speaking shortly after the convention," Mr. Schurz once told the author, "and continued until the day of the election, making from one to three speeches, with the exception of about ten days in September when I was so fatigued that I had to stop for a little while. I spoke in both English and German, under the auspices of the National Committee and not only in the larger towns, but frequently also in country districts." No speaker of the campaign touched the people more deeply. "Young, ardent, aspiring," said the New York "Evening Post" of Mr. Schurz, "the romances connected with his life and escape from his fatherland, his scholarly attainments, and, above all, his devotion to the principles which cast him an exile on our shores, have all combined to render him dear to the hearts of his countrymen and to place him in the foremost rank of their leaders."

Besides this educational work on the stump was that by pamphlets. After the campaign lives of Lincoln and Hamlin, of which there were many,* the

* On May 19, the day after the nominations were made, five different lives of Lincoln were announced by the New York "Evening Post." The first to appear was the Wigwam Edition, which was ready at the beginning of June. The best were those by W. D. Howells and David W. Bartlett.

The Illinois "State Journal" of June 5, 1860, quoted a paragraph

"campaign tracts" issued by the "Tribune" were the most widely circulated documents. There were several of these, the most popular being Carl Schurz's speech on the "Doom of Slavery," and Seward's on the "Irrepressible Conflict." There was at the same time, an immense amount done in the press, and much of it by the ablest literary men the United States has produced, thus Lowell wrote essays for the "Atlantic," Whittier verses for the "Tribune" and the "Atlantic," Bryant, Greeley, Raymond, Bowles, editorials for their journals.

The Republican campaign of 1860 had one distinguishing feature,—the Wide-Awakes, bands of torch-bearers who in a simple uniform of glazed cap and cape, and carrying colored lanterns or blazing coal-oil torches, paraded the streets of almost every town of the North throughout the summer and fall, arousing everywhere the wildest enthusiasm. Their origin was purely accidental. In February, Cassius M. Clay spoke in Hartford, Connecticut. A few ardent young Republicans accompanied him as a kind of body-guard, and to save their garments from the dripping of the torches a few of them wore improvised capes of black glazed cambric. The uniform attracted so much attention that a campaign club formed in Hartford soon after adopted it. This club called itself the Wide-Awakes. Other clubs took up the

from the Cincinnati "Commercial" to the effect that "it is stated that there have already been fifty-two applications to Mr. Lincoln to write his biography."

The "Journal" of June 15, 1860, said that none of the numerous biographies announced by publishers as "authorized" or the "only authorized" has been in fact authorized by Mr. Lincoln. "He is ignorant of their contents and is not responsible for anything they contain."

idea, and soon there were Wide-Awakes drilling regularly from one end of the North to the other.

A great many fantastic movements were invented by them, a favorite one being a peculiar zig-zag march —an imitation of the party emblem—the rail-fence. Numbers of the clubs adopted the rules and drills of the Chicago Zouaves—one of the most popular military organizations of the day. In the summer of 1860 Colonel Ellsworth, the commanding officer of the Zouaves, brought them East. The Wide-Awake movement was greatly stimulated by this tour of the Zouaves.

Almost all of the clubs had their peculiar badges, Lincoln splitting rails or engineering a flat-boat being a favorite decoration for them. There were many medals worn as well. Many of these combined business and politics adroitly, the obverse advising you to "vote for the rail-splitter," the reverse to buy somebody's soap, or tea, or wagons.

Many of the clubs owned Lincoln rails which were given the place of honor on all public occasions and the "Originals," as the Hartford Wide-Awakes were called, possessed the identical maul with which Lincoln had split the rails for the famous fence. It had been secured in Illinois together with such weighty credentials that nobody could dispute its claim, and was the pride of the club. It still is to be seen in Hartford occupying a conspicuous place in the collection of the Connecticut Historical Society.

Campaign songs set to familiar airs were heard on every hand. Many of these never had more than a local vogue, but others were sung generally. One of

the most ringing was E. C. Stedman's "Honest Abe of the West," sung to the air of "The Star Spangled Banner":

"Then on to the holy Republican strife!
And again, for a future as fair as the morning,
For the sake of that freedom more precious than life,
Ring out the grand anthem of Liberty's warning!
Lift the banner on high, while from mountain and plain,
The cheers of the people are sounded again;
Hurrah! for our cause—of all causes the best!
Hurrah! for Old Abe, Honest Abe of the West!"

One of the campaign songs which will never be forgotten was Whittier's "The Quakers Are Out":

"Give the flags to the winds!
Set the hills all aflame!
Make way for the man with
The Patriarch's name!
Away with misgivings—away
With all doubt,
For Lincoln goes in when the
Quakers are out!"

In many of the states great rallies were held at central points, at which scores of Wide-Awake clubs and a dozen popular speakers were present. The most enthusiastic of all these was held in Mr. Lincoln's own home, Springfield, on August 8. Fully 75,000 people gathered for the celebration, by far the greater number coming across the prairies on horseback or in wagons. A procession eight miles long filed by Mr. Lincoln's door.

Mr. E. B. Washburne, who was with Mr. Lincoln in Springfield that day, says of this mass meeting:

"It was one of the most enormous and impressive gatherings I had ever witnessed. Mr. Lincoln, surrounded by some intimate friends, sat on the balcony of his humble home. It took hours for all the delegations to file before him, and there was no token of enthusiasm wanting. He was deeply touched by the manifestations of personal and political friendships, and returned all his salutations in that off-hand and kindly manner which belonged to him. I know of no demonstration of a similar character that can compare with it except the review by Napoleon of his army for the invasion of Russia, about the same season of the year in 1812."

From May until November this work for the ticket went on steadily and ardently. Mr. Lincoln during all this time remained quietly in Springfield. The conspicuous position in which he was placed made almost no difference in his simple life. He was the same genial, accessible, modest man as ever, his habits as unpretentious, his friendliness as great. The chief outward change in his daily round was merely one of quarters. It seemed to his friends that neither his home nor his dingy law office was an appropriate place in which to receive his visitors and they arranged that a room in the State House which stood on the village green in the centre of the town, be put at his disposal. He came down to this office every morning about eight o'clock, always stopping on his way in his old cordial fashion to ask the news or exchange a story when he met an acquaintance. Frequently he went to the post-office himself before going to his office and came out, his arms loaded with letters and papers.

He had no regular hours for visitors; there was no ceremony for admittance to his presence. People

came when they would. Usually they found the door open; if it was not, it was Mr. Lincoln's own voice which answered, "come in," to their knock. These visitors were a strange medley of the curious, the interested and the friendly. Many came simply to see him, to say they had shaken hands with him; numbers to try to find out what his policy would be if elected; others to wish him success. All day long they filed in and out leaving him some days no time for his correspondence, which every day grew larger. He seemed never to be in a hurry, never to lose patience, however high his table was piled with mail, however closely his room was crowded with visitors. He even found time to give frequent sittings to the artists sent from various parts of the country to paint his portrait. Among those who came in the summer after the nomination were Berry, of Boston; Hicks, of New York; Conant, of St. Louis; Wright, of Mobile; Brown, and Atwood, of Philadelphia; Jones, of Cincinnati. Mr. Lincoln took the kindliest interest in these men, and later when President, did more than one of them a friendly turn; thus in March, 1865, he wrote to Seward in regard to Jones and Piatt, that he had "some wish" that they might have "some of those moderate sized consulates which facilitate artists a little in their profession." They in their turn never forgot him. Sitting over their easels by the hour in the corner of his office assigned them they got many glimpses into the man's great heart, and nowhere do we get pleasanter pictures of Mr. Lincoln in this period than from their journals.

To those who observed Mr. Lincoln closely as he

received his visitors one thing was apparent: he always remained master of the interview. While his visitors told him a great deal, they learned nothing from him which he did not wish to give. The following observations, published in the Illinois "State Journal" in November, 1860, illustrate very well what happened almost every day in his office:

"While talking to two or three gentlemen and standing up, a very hard-looking customer rolled in and tumbled into the only vacant chair and the one lately occupied by Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln's keen eye took in the fact, but gave no evidence of the notice. Turning around at last he spoke to the odd specimen, holding out his hand at such a distance that our friend had to vacate the chair if he accepted the proffered shake. Mr. Lincoln quietly resumed his chair. It was a small matter, yet one giving proof more positively than a larger event of that peculiar way the man has of mingling with a mixed crowd.

"He converses fluently on all subjects, illustrates everything by a merry anecdote, of which article he has an abundant supply. I said on all subjects. He does not talk politics. He passes from that gracefully the moment it is introduced. Hundreds seek him every week to get his opinion on this or that subject. He has a jolly way of disposing of that matter by saying, 'Ah! you haven't read my speeches. Let me make you a present of my speeches.' And the earnest inquirer finds himself the happy possessor of some old documents."

Among his daily visitors there were usually men of eminence from North and South. He received them all with perfect simplicity and always even on his busiest days found a moment to turn away from them to greet old friends who had known him when he

kept grocery in New Salem or acted as deputy-surveyor of Sangamon County. One day as he talked to a company of distinguished strangers an old lady in a big sun-bonnet, heavy boots and short skirts walked into the office. She carried a package wrapped in brown paper and tied with a white string. As soon as Mr. Lincoln saw her he left the group, went to meet her and, shaking her hand cordially, inquired for her "folks." After a moment the old lady opened the package and taking out a pair of coarse wool socks she handed them to him. "I wanted to give you somethin', Mr. Linkin," she said, "to take to Washington, and that's all I hed. I spun that yarn and knit them socks myself." Thanking her warmly, Mr. Lincoln took the socks and holding them up by the toes, one in each hand, he turned to the astonished celebrities and said in a voice full of kindly amusement, "The lady got my latitude and longitude about right, didn't she, gentlemen?"

The old lady was not the only one, however, who gave Mr. Lincoln "something to carry to Washington." From the time of his nomination gifts poured in on him. Many of these came in the form of wearing apparel. Mr. George Lincoln, of Brooklyn, who in January carried a handsome silk hat to the President-elect, the gift of a New York hatter, says that in receiving the hat, Mr. Lincoln laughed heartily over the gifts of clothing and remarked to Mrs. Lincoln:

"Well, wife, if nothing else comes out of this scrape, we are going to have some new clothes, are we not?"

To those who observed Mr. Lincoln superficially in this period, it might have seemed that he was doing

nothing of any value to himself or to his party. Certainly he was taking no active part in the campaign. He was making no speeches—writing no letters—giving no interviews. This policy of silence he had adopted at the outset. The very night of his nomination his townspeople in serenading him had called for a speech. Standing in the doorway of his house he said to them that he did not suppose the honor of such a visit was intended particularly for himself as a private citizen, but rather as the representative of a great party; that as to his position on the political questions of the day he could only refer them to his previous speeches, and he added:—"Fellow citizens and friends: The time comes upon every public man, when it is best for him to keep his lips closed. That time has come upon me." When in August the monster mass meeting was held in Springfield every effort was made to persuade Mr. Lincoln to speak. All he would consent to do was to appear and in a few words excuse himself. Up to the time he left for Washington to be inaugurated, he kept his resolve.

Nor would he write letters explaining his position, or defending himself. So many letters were received asking his political opinion that he found it necessary soon after his nomination to prepare the following form of reply to be sent out by his secretary:

"Dear Sir: Your letter to Mr. Lincoln of ——, and by which you seek to obtain his opinions on certain political points, has been received by him. He has received others of a similar character, but he also has a greater number of the exactly opposite character. The latter class beseech him to write nothing whatever upon any point of political

doctrine. They say his positions were well known when he was nominated, and that he must not now embarrass the canvass by undertaking to shift or modify them. He regrets that he cannot oblige all, but you perceive it is impossible for him to do so. Yours, etc.

"JNO. G. NICOLAY."

To one gentleman who asked him to write something disclaiming all intention to interfere with slaves or slavery in the states, he replied, "I have already done this many, many times; and it is in print and open to all who will read. Those who will not read or heed what I have already publicly said would not read or heed a repetition of it. If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

And to another correspondent who suggested that he set forth his conservative views, he wrote:—

". . . I will not forbear from doing so merely on punctilio and pluck. If I do finally abstain, it will be because of apprehension that it would do harm. For the good men of the South—and I regard the majority of them as such—I have no objection to repeat seventy and seven times. But I have bad men to deal with, both North and South; men who are eager for something new upon which to base new misrepresentations; men who would like to frighten me, or at least to fix upon me the character of timidity and cowardice. They would seize upon almost any letter I could write as being an 'awful coming down.' I intend keeping my eye upon these gentlemen, and to not unnecessarily put any weapons in their hands."

Nor would he defend himself against the "campaign stories" which appeared in numbers. One of which

his enemies made much was that he had received two hundred dollars for the Cooper Union speech in February, 1860. They claimed that as it was a political speech it was contrary to political etiquette to accept pay. Lincoln explained the affair in a letter to a gentleman who had been disturbed by it and added:—

"I have made this explanation to you as a friend, but I wish no explanation made to our enemies. What they want is a squabble and a fuss, and that they can have if we explain; and they cannot have it if we don't."

Another foolish tale which caused Lincoln's partisans unrest was that when he was a member of Congress he had charged several pairs of *boots* to his stationery account and that they had been paid for out of public funds. One of Lincoln's friends took the trouble to examine the stationery account for the Thirtieth Congress and to publish a certified denial of the story.

Lincoln's silence and inactivity were merely external. As a matter of fact no one was busier than he. No one was following more intently and thoughtfully the gradual development of the situation and the daily fluctuation of opinion. By correspondence, from the press, through his visitors many of whom came to Springfield at his request, he kept himself informed of how the campaign was going from Maine to California. Whenever he feared a break in the ranks he put in a word of warning or of advice. He warned Thurlow Weed that Douglas was "managing the Bell element with great adroitness." He cau-

tioned Hannibal Hamlin against a break the latter feared in Maine, "Such a result as you seem to predict in Maine"—he wrote, "would, I fear, put us on the down-hill track, lose us the state elections in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and probably ruin us on the main turn in November." While he gave the strictest attention to the progress of the elections all over the country, he managed to keep above local issues and to hold himself aloof from the personal contests and rivalries within the party.

In fact Lincoln kept in perfect touch with the progress of his party from May to November and was able to say at any time with accuracy just what his chances were in each state. He seems at no time to have had any serious fear that he would be defeated.

There was a tragic side to this very certainty of election which Lincoln felt deeply. In the Convention which had nominated him, nine states of the Union had not been represented. If he should be elected these states would have had no voice in his choice. He knew that he was pledged to a platform whose principles these states stigmatized as "deception and fraud," and that if elected he must deny what they claimed as rights. He knew that in at least one state, Alabama, the legislature two months before his nomination had pledged itself by an almost unanimous vote in case of his election to call a convention to consider what should be done for "the protection of their rights, interests and honor." He knew that numbers of influential Southern men were repeating daily with Wm. L. Yancey, "I want the cotton states precipitated in a revolution," or declaring with Mr. Craw-

ford of Georgia, "We will never submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President."

From May to November he watched anxiously for every sign that the South was preparing to make good the threats with which its orators were inflaming their audiences, which a hostile press reiterated day by day, which teemed in his mail, and which brought scores of timorous men to Springfield to advise and warn him. How serious was it all? He did his utmost to discover; even writing in October to Major David Hunter to find out how much truth there was in the report of disaffection in a Western fort: "I have a letter from a writer unknown to me," he said, "saying the officers of the army at Fort Kearney have determined, in case of Republican success, at the approaching presidential election, to take themselves, and the arms at that point, South, for the purpose of resistance to the government. While I think there are many chances to one that this is a humbug, it occurs to me that any real movement of this sort in the army would leak out and become known to you. In such case, if it would not be unprofessional, or dishonorable (of which you are to be judge), I shall be much obliged if you will apprise me of it."

In spite of all that Lincoln knew of the temper of the South, in spite of his close study of events there through the summer of 1860, he did not believe secession probable. "The people of the South have too much good sense and good temper to attempt the ruin of the government rather than see it administered as it was administered by the men who made it. At least so I hope and believe," he wrote a correspondent

in August. And in September he said to a visitor, "There are no real disunionists in the country."

There were reasons for this confidence. In every state of the South there was a Union Party working to meet the crisis which Lincoln's election was sure to produce; many of the members sent him cheering letters. In acknowledging such a letter in August, Lincoln wrote: "It contains one of the many assurances I receive from the South, that in no probable event will there be any very formidable effort to break up the Union."

Then, too, Lincoln had heard this threat of secession for so long that he had grown slightly indifferent to it. He remembered that in the Frémont campaign it had been employed with even more violence than now. Again in 1858 the clamor of disunion had risen. He believed that now much of the noise about disunion was merely political, raised by the friends of Breckenridge, Douglas, or Bell to drive voters from him. The leading men of the party sustained Lincoln in this belief. Seward and Schurz both confidently assured Republicans in their speeches that they might vote for Lincoln without fear, and Bryant, in the "Evening Post," laughed at the "conservative distresses" of those who supposed that Lincoln's election would cause secession and war; reminding them that when Jefferson was a candidate it was said his election would "let loose the flood-gates of French Jacobinism" and that Henry Clay had declared that "nothing short of universal commercial ruin" would follow Jackson's election. Lincoln was sustained not only by the assurances of the Union Party of the South and

by the buoyant hopefulness of the Republicans of the North, he had a powerful moral support of his own conviction that no matter what effort the South made to secede the North could and would prevent it. He was and had been for years perfectly clear on this subject. In the Frémont campaign he had said in reply to the threat of disunion, "No matter what our grievance—even though Kansas shall come in as a slave state; and no matter what theirs—even if we shall restore the compromise—we will say to the Southern disunionists we won't go out of the Union and you *shan't.*"

It was then with the belief that he was going to be elected and that while his election would produce a serious uproar in the South, that no successful resistance would follow, that Lincoln approached election day. He had grown materially in the estimation of the country in the interval between May and November. Many of the leading men of his party who had deplored his nomination had come to believe him a wise, strong man. Those who sought personal interviews with him, and they were many, went home feeling like Thurlow Weed who, heart-sick over Seward's defeat and full of distrust, not to say contempt, of Lincoln's ability, visited him soon after the nomination at the earnest request of David Davis and Leonard Swett. "I found Mr. Lincoln," wrote Weed afterward, "sagacious and practical. He displayed throughout the conversation so much good sense, such intuitive knowledge of human nature, and such familiarity with the virtues and infirmities of politicians, that I became impressed very favorably with

his fitness for the duties which he was not unlikely to be called upon to discharge. This conversation lasted some five hours, and when the train arrived in which we were to depart, I rose all the better prepared to 'go to work with a will' in favor of Mr. Lincoln's election, as the interview had inspired me with confidence in his capacity and integrity." . . .

In the very South where a fury of prejudce had burst and where, as was to be expected, Lincoln was popularly regarded as an odious and tyrannical monster, much as later the North regarded Jefferson Davis, there were signs that he was at least considered honest in his views.

"It may seem strange to you," wrote a Kentuckian, who was quoted by the New York "Evening Post," August 17, 1860, "but it is nevertheless true that the South looks for the election of Lincoln by the people and would prefer him to Douglas. Our most ultra Southern men seem to respect him and to have confidence in his honesty, fairness and conservatism. They concede that he stands on a moderate platform, that his antecedents are excellent, and that he is not likely to invade the rights of any one; but they can't go for him because he holds opinions relative to the rights of slavery in the territories directly opposite to the Southern view; still he is an open and candid opponent, and therefore commands Southern respect."

"Some of the most interesting interviews which Mr. Lincoln has had," wrote some one to the Baltimore "Patriot," "have been with extreme Southern gentlemen, who came full of prejudice against him, and who left satisfied with his loyalty to all the constitutional rights of the South. I could tell you of some most interesting cases, but it is enough to know that the general sentiment of all Southern men who

have conversed with him is the same as that publicly expressed by Mr. Goggin, of Virginia; Mr. Perry, of South Carolina; Mr. McRae, of North Carolina, and many others, who have not hesitated to avow their intention of accepting Mr. Lincoln's election and holding him to the constitutional discharge of the presidential office. . . ."

The most significant element in the estimate of Lincoln which the country formed between May and November was the respect and affection which was awakened among the common people. There sprang up all over the country among plain people a feeling for him not unlike that which had long existed in Illinois. The general distribution made of his speeches had something to do with this. There was published in 1860 in Columbus, Ohio, an edition of the Lincoln and Douglas debates of 1858, which was used freely as a campaign document. Lincoln himself gave away scores of these books to his friends and to persons who came to him begging for an expression of his views. To-day copies bearing his autograph are to be seen, treasured volumes in the libraries of many public men. The Cooper Union speech was published by the Young Men's Republican Club of New York and circulated widely. To the hard-working farmer, mechanic, store-keeper, who thought slowly but surely, and whose sole political ambition was to cast an honest vote, these speeches were like a personal face-to-face talk. The argument was so clear, the illustration so persuasive, the statement so colloquial and natural, that they could not get away from them. "Lincoln's right," was the general verdict among masses of people who, hesitating between Re-

publicanism and Popular Sovereignty, read the speeches as a help to a decision.

While Lincoln's speeches awakened respect for and confidence in his ability, the story of his life stirred something deeper in men. Here was a man who had become a leader of the nation by the labor of his hands, the honesty of his intellect, the uprightness of his heart. Plain people were touched by the hardships of this life so like their own, inspired by the thought that a man who had struggled as they had done, who had remained poor, who had lived simply, could be eligible to the highest place in the nation. They had believed that it could be done. Here was a proof of it. They told the story to their boys. This, they said, is what American institutions make possible; not glitter or wealth, trickery or demagogy is necessary, only honesty, hard thinking, a fixed purpose. Affection and sympathy for Lincoln grew with respect. It was the beginning of that peculiar sympathetic relation between him and the common people which was to become one of the controlling influences in the great drama of the Civil War.

Election day in 1860 fell on the 6th. Springfield, although a town of strong Democratic sympathy, realized the importance of the occasion, and by daylight was booming away with cannon; before noon numbers of bands which came, the citizens hardly knew from where, were playing on the corners of every street. Mr. Lincoln, as was his custom, came down to his room at the State House by eight o'clock, where he went over his big mail as coolly as if it were not election day and he a candidate for the presidency

of the United States. He had not been there long before his friends began to flock in in such numbers that it was proposed that the doors be closed and he be allowed to remain by himself, but he said he had never done such a thing in his life as to close the door on his friends and that he did not intend to begin now, and so the day wore away in the entertainment of visitors.

It had not been Mr. Lincoln's intention to vote, the obstacle which he found in the way being that his own name headed the Republican ticket and that he did not want to vote for himself. One of his friends suggested that his name might be cut off and he vote for the rest of the ticket. He fell in with this suggestion, and late in the afternoon, when the crowd around the polls, which were just across the street from his office, had subsided somewhat, he went over to cast his ballot. He was recognized immediately and his friends were soon about him, cheering wildly and contending good-naturedly for an opportunity to shake his hand. Even the Democrats, with their hands full of documents which they were distributing, joined in this enthusiastic demonstration and cheered at the top of their voices for their beloved townsman.

No returns were expected before seven o'clock, and it was a little later than that when Mr. Lincoln returned from his supper to the State House. The first despatches that came were from different parts of Illinois, the very first being from Decatur, where a Republican gain was announced. Soon after, Alton, which was expected to go for Douglas, sent in a majority of twelve for Lincoln. There was a tre-

mendous sensation in the company, and Mr. Lincoln asked that the despatch be sent out to the "boys," meaning the crowd which had gathered in and about the State House. After an hour or more news began to come from Missouri. "Now," said Mr. Lincoln, "they should get a few licks back at us." But to everybody's surprise, there was more good news from Missouri than had been expected. Towards midnight news began to come from Pennsylvania: "Allegheny County, 10,000 majority for Lincoln;" "Philadelphia, 15,000 plurality, 5,000 majority over all;" then a telegram from Simon Cameron, "Pennsylvania 70,000 for you. New York safe. Glory enough." This was the first news from New York, and since ten o'clock the company had been waiting impatiently for it. A fusion ticket, it was feared, might go through there, and if it did the disaster to the Republicans would be serious.

While waiting anxiously for something definite from New York, a delegation of Springfield ladies came in to invite Mr. Lincoln and his friends to a hall near by, where they had prepared refreshments for all the Republican politicians of the town. The party had not been there long before there came a telegram announcing that New York City had gone Republican. Such a cheering was probably never heard in Springfield before. The hall full of people, beside themselves with joy, began a romping promenade around the tables, singing at the top of their voices the popular campaign song, "Oh, ain't you glad you joined the Republicans?" Here at intervals further telegrams came from New York, all announcing large

majorities. The scene became one of the wildest excitement, and Mr. Lincoln and his friends soon withdrew to a little telegraph office on the square, where they could receive reports more quietly. Up to this time the only anxiety Mr. Lincoln had shown about the election was in the returns from his state and town. He didn't "feel quite easy," as he said, "about Springfield." Towards morning, however, the announcement came that he had a majority in his own precinct. Then it was that he showed the first emotion, a jubilant chuckle, and soon after he remarked cheerfully to his friends, that he "guess'd he'd go home now," which he did. But Springfield was not content to go home. Cannon banged until daylight, and on every street corner and in every alley could be heard groups of men shouting at the top of their voices, "Oh, ain't you glad you joined the Republicans?"

Twenty-four hours later and the full result of that Tuesday's work was known. Out of 303 electoral votes, Lincoln had received 180. Of the popular vote he had received 1,866,452—nearly a half million over Douglas, a million over Breckenridge, a million and a quarter over Bell. It was a victory, but there were facts about the victory which startled the thoughtful. If Lincoln had more votes than any one opposing candidate, they together had nearly 1,000,000 over him. Fifteen states of the Union gave him no electoral votes, and in ten states he had not received a single popular vote.

/973.7L736YTLI>C1>V2/

1st vol in Rhode
case in office

973.7
L736Yt
Li

19249
v.2

Tarbell, Ida Minerva.
The life of Abraham Lincoln.